Chief Editor

A. K. Narain

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Editors

Ajay Mitra Shastri
Jai Prakash Singh

N. S. I.
HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5

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CONTENTS

A. Articles Page

1. Complexities of the Silver Punch-Marked Coins 1
A.N. Lahiri

2. India's Earliest Inscribed Coins : The City Issues 35
Bela Lahiri

3. Two Interesting Coins in the Singhi Collection 55
Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta

4. A Unique Satrapal Coin 60
B. N. Mukherjee

5. Coins of Bodhi Dynasty From Tripuri 62
M. C. Choubay

6. British Museum Romano-Kushana Medallion : Its Nature and Importance 73
Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

7. The Identifications of Caltis : An Examination 82
Jai Praka h Singh

8. Elephanta Hoard of Copper Coins of Krishṇarāja 88
Shobhana Gokhale

B. Miscellanea

1. Three Commemorative Tetradrachms of Agathocles 92
P. L. Gupta

2. Another Kshudraka Coin ? 95
Devendra Handa

3. Some More Clay Sealings From Sunet 96
Devendra Handa

4. A Note on the Bodhis 98
Ajay Mitra Sha tri

5. Roman Aureus From Memadkhedi 100
P. L. Gupta

6. The Legend Mlky Tkr on two Coins of Ancient Sogdiana 102
Amitabha Bhattacharya

C. Reviews

1. A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach by Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta 104
Lallanji Gopal

2. India as seen in the Kuttani-Mata of Damodaragupta by Ajay Mitra Shastri 106
B. N. Mukherjee

D. Obituary—*C. R. Singhal* 109

List of Numismatic Contributions of Late Shri C. R. Singhal 111
P. L. Gupta

D Plates (at the end)

Plate I : 1-2 Coins in the Singhi collection; 3. A Unique Satrapal Coin.

Plate II : 1-18 Coins of the Bodhis.

Plate III : 1-10 Coins of the Bodhis.

Plate IV : 1 Copper Coin of Krishṇarāja ; 2-4 Some clay sealings from Sunet ; 5-6 Sogdian Coins bearing Mlky Tkr.

Plate V : 1-2 Romano-Kushana Medallion.

Plate VI : 1-3 New Commemorative Coins of Agathocles.

COMPLEXITIES OF THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS[1]

A. N. Lahiri

Numismatic issues, which were produced in ancient India by the purely indigenous process of impressing symbols by individual punches and which were of predetermined weights but of irregular shapes and sizes, have been termed 'Punch-marked coins' by James Prinsep and are now universally known by the same name.[2] The present paper will deal with such Punch-marked coins of silver above.

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1. See for general reference : (1) *The Numismatic Chronicle* (*NC*); (2) *Numismatic Supplement* (*NS*) to *the Journal of the* [*Royal*] *Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*JASB*); (3) *the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (*JNSI*); (4) *the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (*JBORS*); (5) A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India* (*CAI*); (6) D. R. Bhandarkar, [Carmichael] *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics* (*LAIN*); (7) S. K. Chakrabortty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics* (*SAIN*); (8) P. L. Gupta, *Coins*; (9) E. H. C. Walsh, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila* (Taxila Hoard or *PMCT*) (10) P. N. Bhattacharya, *A Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins from Purnea* [Patraha] (Patraha Hoard); (11) P. L. Gupta, *The Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins* (*Amaravati Hoard*); (12) V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I (*IMC*); (13) J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India* (*BMC, AI*); (14) R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Tresors Monetaires D'Afghanistan* (*TMA*); (15) E. H. C. Walsh, "1917 Golakpur (Patna) Hoard of 108 Punch-marked Coins", *JBORS*, 1919, pp. 16-72; (16) E. H. C. Walsh, "Paila Hoard of Punch-marked Coins", *JNSI*, II, pp. 15-78; (17) M.G Young, "A New Hoard from Taxila (Bhir Mound)", *Ancient India* (*AI*) No. 1, pp. 27-36; (18) M. Mitchiner, *The Origins of Indian Coinage* (*OIC*); (19) A.N. Lahiri, "The Punch-marked Coins and the Question of their Prototypes", *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 1-9; (20) A. N. Lahiri, "Archaic Coins of Northern India", *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 1-38; (21) A. K. Narain and L. Gopal (Edited), *The Chronology of the Punch-marked Coins* (*CPMC*), and (22) P. L. Gupta, *A Bibliography of the Hoards of Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India* (*Bibliography*).

2. See *JASB*, Vol. IV (1835), p. 627.

BROAD CLASSES OF SILVER P. M. COINS

These highly well-organised silver archaic coins of India may be conveniently divided into some six broad classes according to their respective modes of manufacture and fabric :

(1) The 'Droplet coins'[1] of irregular shape and unspecified weight;

(2) the Saucer-like or Cup-shaped coins[2] of specified weight;

(3) the Wheel-marked or the so-called Bent-bar coins[3] of specified weight;

(4) the Minute coins[4] of tiny size and very low weight ;

(5) the 'Common' Flat-fabric coins[5] of specified weight but of irregular shape and size; and

---

1. See the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 34-35 and below for description.
2. Sri Nath Shah first noticed these saucer-like coins in *JNSI*, III, pp. 51-52 and discussed them in *JNSI*, V, pp. 13-16. See the Author, ibid., XXXV. pp, 10-12 and below.
3. V. A. Smith first noticed them and called them 'Bent-bar' coins in *IMC*, p. 134. J. Allan published and illustrated some coins in *BMC (AI)*, pp. xv-xvii, 1-3, Pl. I. 1-6. Durga Prasad noticed and illustrated such a coin in *NS*, XLVII, p. 78 N., Pl, 11. 1. E.H.C. Walsh published the Taxila Hoard pieces in *PMCT*, pp. 2-3. Plate V. M.G. Young dealt with some pieces in *AI*, No. 1, pp. 27-36. A.D.H. Bivar called them 'Wheel-marked coins' in *NC*, 1954, p. 163. R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger illustrated 12 coins of the Chaman Huzuri Hoard in *TMA*, p. 37, Nos. 1-12, Plate III.
4. These remarkable 'Minute' coins were first published by J. Allan, *BMC (AI)*. 1936, pp. 286-287, Nos. 1-4, Pl. XLVI, 18-19 (two of them came from Thatari, Bilaspur District, M.P.) and then by E.H.C. Walsh, *PMCT* (1939), pp. 3-4, 101, Pl. I (symbols), V-VI (coins). Thereafter they have been noticed, discussed and published by V.S. Agrawala, P.L. Gupta, T. R. Goirala and H.D Sankalia in *JNSI*, VIII, p. 41; XIII, pp. 164-174; XVI, pp. 14-35 and pp. 36-39 ; and XIX, pp. 183-184, They are known from the bed of the Kabul River, Taxila, Jahangira (Peshawar), Rawalpindi, Thatari, Ujjain-Bhilsa, Maheshwar, and Kosam.
5. The term 'common flat fabric' punch-marked coins includes in a wide sense *various classes* of sparingly minted 'local' and mass-produced, 'universal' issues, e.g. (1) Unpublished 4-symbol squarish *Adhyardha-kārshāpaṇas*; (2) the broad-and-round-flan 4-symbol *Tripāda-Kārshāpaṇas* (*NS*, XLV, Pls. 1-III, XXXI); (4) *Ardha-kārshāpaṇas* of the Lotapur (cf. *NS*, XLV, Plate VIII) and the unpublished Tripura coins; (5) *Adhy-ardha-pādikas* of the Sonpur (*JNSI*, XIII, pp. 92-93, Pl. V. 13-18), Singavaram (P. L. Gupta, *Bibliography*, p. 18, No. 119 and *Coins*, Pl. I, 13) and Bodinayakkanur (*JBBRAS*, XXXVI, pp. 214-218) hoards; (6) all issues of 6-symbol 'local' and 'universal' *Pūrṇa kārshāpaṇas*, as known from Allan's *BMC (AI)*, pp. 11-84 as well as from the Golakpur, Taxila, Patraha (Purnea), Amaravati and other hoards.

(6) the miscellaneous issues[1] of various shapes and weights.

These classes often have their respective series, types, varieties and, sometimes, denominations, based mainly on symbol-combinations, weight-standards and fabrics.

COMPLEXITIES AND GREAT NUMBER OF SILVER P.M. COINS

The bewilderingly wide extent of the silver coinage of the Punch-marked system with individually impressed traditional and popular symbols present enormous complexities and multiple problems to serious students of Indian numismatics. These enigmatic coins were evidently the earliest amongst India's archaic issues.

Thousands of silver Punch-marked coins of innumerable 'Local' and 'Universal' series and types are known from published works of a very great number[2], while hundreds of them lie scattered in various private and official cabinets in India and abroad almost unknown, unpublished or partially noticed. We need not speak of the great numbers of them which end their existence in the melting pots or those innumerable others which are occasionally dug up in considerable numbers by people oblivious of their importance and consequently never willing to make their discoveries public.

These silver punch-marked coins come from all corners of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan as well as from various parts of Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan. In fact, each known ancient site of these countries has been yielding large numbers of Punch-marked coins in archaeological explorations and excavations.

In order to make an exhaustive but convenient and scientific study of the different classes of silver Punch-marked coinages, we have to deal with their various aspects one by one. It would be convenient for such a study to deal first with their technical aspects, viz. (1) Mode of Manufacture, (2) Metal-contents and Alloys, (3) Metrology, and (4) Shape, Size and Fabric. We may then discuss the question of the (5) Local and Universal Classes of the silver Punch-marked coins. We shall finally look into the forms, varieties, uses, diversities and group-combinations of the innumerable Symbols which may ultimately lead us to the solution of the great (6) Problems of the Symbols.

1. See the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 34 ff.
2. Cf. P. L. Gupta, *Bibliography*, (1966).

VARIOUS ASPECTS OF SILVER P. M. COINS

1. MODES OF MANUFACTURE[1]

It was according to the respective ingenuity, resourcefulness and experience that issuers of different localities adopted different methods in the matter of manufacturing these Punch-marked coins which involved two distinct processes : (i) preparation of the coin-blanks, and (ii) impressing them with predetermined symbols by individual punches.

(*a*) *The Droplet Coins*[2]

The rare and obscure coins, which represented perhaps the earliest stage of the Punch-marked system, were prepared in a simple but novel method. Some quantity of molten silver was dropped down on a hard flat surface and stamped, when still in a semi-molten state, with one or more broad symbols with the help of a punch or punches. The resultant crude coins would be somewhat roundish but irregular in shape and of rough fabric.

(*b*) *The Saucer-like Coins*

The Saucer-like or Cup shaped coins which look like shallow cups or saucers, were also initially prepared like the Droplet coins. But ultimately their blanks were processed separately and in a more sophisticated manner by flattening thin silver globules of specific weight; and the resultant oval or roundish blanks were then impressed on one side with symbols by individual punches in a considerably heated state, so that the side that received the stamping became quite 'concave' by the sheer force of striking.[3]

(*c*) *The Wheel-marked Coins*[4]

The Wheel-marked or the so-called Bent-bar coins, the 'full' denominations of which are but silver 'bars' and somewhat 'bent',

1. See the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 5-6. (9 Wheel-marked coins), pp. 10-11 (Saucer-like coins), p. 13 (common flat-fabric punch-marked coins). See also A. Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 43, V.A. Smith, *IMC*, p. 131, R.B. Whitehead, *Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of North-Western India*, p. 42, and S.K. Chakrabortty, *SAIN*, pp. 107 ff.
2. The significant term 'Droplet coins' has been coined by my friend Mr. Valdettaro, who himself has a beautiful specimen of this most archaistic currency (*JNSI*, XXXV, Pl. I. 13). For references see note 2 on p. 2 above.
3. The Bharat Kala Bhavan has at least two Saucer-like coins prepared by the Droplet technique.
4. For references see note 3 on p. 2 above.

also involved two distinct processes of manufacture. Their blanks were chiselled out of long strips of uniform thickness and often clipped at corners to make them conform to the specific weight (100 *ratis*).[1] The blanks would then be considerably heated and impressed at each of the two ends with a circular concave punch-die having the design of a wheel-like symbol of at least ·6 inch diameter.[2] Thus processed, coins would always get 'bent' during the time of stamping. Since the coins of the lower denominations of this system were small enough to be covered with the full or part of the symbol, there would be no question of their getting bent.

(*d*) *The Minute Coins*[3]

The minute coins of very low weights were prepared like the Droplet coins with the difference that the tiny globules which were but their blanks were of specific weights. Measuring so tiny molten globules in an accurate manner would indeed be a marvellous feat on the part of the ancient manufacturers of coins. The punches that struck them were much bigger than the very minute globule-blanks, so that the symbols would always be seen very partially impressed. These very tiny coins represent world's smallest numismatic issues.[4]

(*e*) *The 'Common' Flat-fabric Coins*

The flat-fabric Punch-marked silver coins of the common types[5] duly involved the two distinct processes of manufacture. As for the preparation of their blanks, which were either roundish or squarish, there were two different techniques. The roundish blanks were always prepared *individually* by flattening thin globules of

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1. See V.A. Smith, *IMC*, p. 134. It is indeed remarkable that Smith who first handled only 3 specimens of this primitive currency recognised their numismatic character and realised that they belonged to a 100-*rati* weight-system.
2. See M. G. Young, *AI*, No. 1, p. 29.
3. For references and other details see note 4 on p. 2 above and Appendix below.
4. Cf. V.A. Smith, *IMC*, p. 163 and n. 1, where he calls the Malava coin weighing 1.7 grain as "one of the smallest coin in the world" and refers (apparently as the smallest coin known to him) to the 1-grain silver issue of Ephesus lying at the British Museum. What to speak of a coin of 1 grain, our *Ardha-kākaṇi* weighs only .25 *rati* or .45 grain !
5. They include many series of coins of various stages of mintage and currency, and among them are 'local' and 'universal' issues of the denominations of *Adhyardha, Pūrṇa, Tripāda, Ardha,* and *Adhyardha-pādika kārshāpaṇas*: see note 7 above.

specific weight.[1] Their squarish blanks, on the contrary, were mass-produced : smaller bits were chopped off from long strips initially chiselled out of a broad hammered sheet of silver of uniform thickness; and then, if necessary, one or more of their corners were clipped off to make the bits conform to the required weight.[2] Thus processed blanks, roundish or squarish, would duly be heated to some degree and stamped with individual punches having *linear representations of the symbols in relief.* The heating of the blanks was just enough to ensure pliability, so that the punches were not unduly damaged and the coin-flans did not crack or get damaged by the force of striking.

(*f*) *The Miscellaneous Coins*[3]

The miscellaneous pieces of the Punch-marked system which were but experimental coins sporadically issued in various localities by ill-equipped and often inexperienced artisans were variously prepared according to one or other of the above processes. They are of various obscure and rare series. They could not go beyond the experimental stage and attain the status of an established currency of the Punch-marked system.

2. METAL-CONTENTS AND ALLOYS OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

The silver that went to the making of these Punch-marked coins was naturally not of the purest possible state : it was more or

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1. That this was the process of manufacture of the roundish pieces is clear from the cracks around their rounded edges, caused by hard stamping of symbols. The globules of specific weights could be had, as shown by Mr. C. Valdettaro, if molten metal is dropped from a sort of calibrated spoon,
2. The actual position has been admirably stated by R. B. Whitehead in his *Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of North-Western India,* p. 42 : "Silver was first beaten out into a sheet somewhat thinner than a quarter–dollar. Strips about half an inch in width were then cut off and each strip was divided into pieces of the same weight, approximately 56 grains, and a final adjustment of the weight was made by cutting small bits off one or more corners of the heavier blanks. The marks of the chisel still remain on the edges of the thicker pieces, which were broken off when the cut did not go clean through the strip of metal".
3. Cf. the Author, *JNSI,* XXXV, pp. 34–36, Though they consist mainly of early experimental issues, they might also include late issues of isolated localities.

less alloyed with copper and some other minor metals. In fact, the proportions of these alloys vary from series to series and from as low as 8·42% to as high as 59·70%.[1]

Besides the good percentage of impurities that the somewhat crudely processed silver of ancient times *naturally had*,[2] some amount of alloy was deliberately added to the coining silver not only to harden the metal,[3] but evidently also for profit. The way the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (a professed minister of Chandragupta Maurya) speaks of the high percentage of alloys in the form of 25% copper and 6¼% of base metal like lead to be deliberately mixed with silver while manufacturing silver coins goes to show that the issuing authorities would often debase the currency in order to enrich the royal exchequer.[4] Any way, the aspects of debasement and difference in weights of the various series of silver Punch-marked coinages promise to be an interesting study.

3. METROLOGY OF THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

With regard to the metrology or the standard of weight, critical and comparative studies have revealed that a number of distinctly recognisable weight-systems prevailed at different periods and in different regions of India; and in some cases various factors contributed to the appreciation or depreciation of the theoretical weight of a particular standard. However, the basic unit of ancient Indian weight-system was the black-spotted red seed of the *Abrus precatorius* or 'wild liquorice', which is known as *Raktikā* (modern *Rati*) or *Kṛishṇala*[5]. The weights of these *Raktikās* vary from specimen to specimen, and naturally the weights of given ancient coins depended on the seeds used for them.

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1. See P. L. Gupta, *Amaravati Hoard*, pp. 3-4.
2. Cf. ibid., p. 4, no. 3.
3. Cf. A. Cunningham, *CAI* p. 55.
4. See the *Arthaśāstra*, 2. 12, 24 (Kangle's 1960 Edition).
5. The actual weight of a *Raktikā-Rati* or *Kṛishṇala* has been variously calculated by various scholars. We have taken the weight of a *Rati* to be 1.8 grains, as has been the case in India since 1835 when James Prinsep fixed the weight of a 100-*rati* Rupee at 180 grains (11.6 grams.). Cf. the Author, *Jour. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 87 and note 20. See also E. H. C. Walsh, *Taxila Hoard*, pp. 15-17; A. Cunningham, *CAI*, pp. 44-45.

Metrology of the extant series of silver Punch-marked coinages is an extremely difficult subject. We have on the one hand different terms which were but denominations of one or other anciently recognised silver weight-systems; and, on the other hand, there are different series of extant ancient coins which appear to conform to various possible denominations of certain approximately fixed standards of weights. Our present problem is therefore to find out (i) which series of the extant coins correspond to which of the denomiantional terms off the ancient texts,[1] and *also* (ii) which of them otherwise conform to any possible weight-system, even though unrecorded in ancient texts.

As we see, there were apparently *three* recorded weight-systems for silver : (1) the *Satamāna* standard of the Vedic and Brahmanical texts, (2) the *Dharaṇa* system of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, and (3) the *Kārshāpaṇa* measure as recorded in the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain texts and spoken of by Manu and other law-givers.[2]

No early text gives the actual weight of a silver *Satamāna* and it is only from Manu and other comparatively late writers that we

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1. See P. L. Gupta, *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 17-18.
2. For *Śatamāna* cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *LAIN*, pp. 57-58, where he takes *māna*, the basic unit of *Śata-māna*, to be equal in weight of a *gunjā* berry, i.e. *Raktikā* or *Kṛishṇala*, as explained by Sāyaṇa. But since a *Śatamāna*, according to Manu (VIII, 136-137), had the weight of 10 32-rati *Dharaṇas* or 320 *ratis*, S. K. Chakrabortty takes the weight of the *māna* to be 3.2 *ratis*: *SAIN*, p. 42.

For the 'older' *Dharaṇa* of Kauṭilya (*Arthaśāstra*, 2. 19. 4-5), having practically the weight of a *Karsha* of 80 *ratis*, cf *LAIN*, pp. 93-94 and *SAIN*, p. 45. Curiously enough, various 'universal' series of extant silver Punch-marked coins datable to the 4th century B. C. or earlier conform to the standard of 80-rati *Dharaṇa* of Kauṭilya, but are evidently of the 32-*rati* standard of the 'later' *Dharaṇa*, *Purāṇa*, or *Kārshāpaṇa* spoken of by Manu (VIII. 136-137). This means that even though there was the theoretical silver *Dharaṇa*-standard of 80 *ratis*; a different low-weight standard (of 32 *ratis*) was actually in vogue : Manu, who knew the correct position, recognised it and spoke of it in clear terms. By his time the 32-*rati* (punch-marked) silver coins were well known and established as *Kārshāpaṇas* and even called (reduced) *Dharaṇas* and referred to as *Purāṇas* or 'Eldliings'.

For silver *Kārshāpaṇa* of 32 *ratis*, otherwise known as *Paṇa* (cf. *SAIN*, pp. 88-89), *Dharaṇa* or *Purāṇa*, see *SAIN*, pp, 89, 90-91, 144 and *LAIN*, p. 92 (*Kārshāpaṇa*=*Purāṇa*=later*D haraṇa*).

know that a *Śatamāna* had the weight of 320 *ratis* with its basic unit *Māna* weighing 3. 2 *ratis* (cf. *SAIN*, p. 42). But no extant silver coin is known to weigh this extraordinarily heavy weight of 320 *ratis* or 576 grains (37.32 grams).

Dharaṇa, the next silver measure, as mentioned by Kauṭilya, is calculated to weigh 80 *ratis* or 144 grains (9.33 grams). Curiously enough no extant ancient indigenous coin is known to conform to this 80-*rati Dharaṇa* either. But, as we have elsewhere shown, the bilingual silver coins of the Indo-Greeks, introduced in the second century B. C., exactly conform to this Kauṭilian *Dharaṇa* system,[1] the full coins, Indian Tetradrachms, weighing 80 *ratis* or 144 grains (9.33) grams and the quarter pieces, Indian Drachms, conforming to 20 *ratis* or 36 grains (2.33 grams).[2]

We have then the silver *Kahāpaṇa* of the Buddhist and Jain texts and the *Kārshāpaṇa* of the Brahmanical literature, which is referred to by Manu and other later law-givers as *Purāṇa*, *Dharaṇa* and *Kārshāpaṇa*, weighing one *Karsha* of 16 silver *māshakas* of 2 *ratis* each. This makes a silver *Kahāpaṇa-Kārshāpana* or *Purāṇa* or (later) *Dharaṇa* of 32 *ratis*, i.e. 57.6 grains (3.73 grams), in weight. It is now universally accepted by scholars that the bewilderingly extensive archaic silver Punch-marked coins bearing five Primary symbols and *generally weighing* between 52 and 54 grains[3] that often turn up from all corners of the Indian sub-continent represent this complex silver monetary system of the *Kārshāpaṇa* standard. Various multiples and sub-divisions of this currency, apparently representing different denominations, are often recognised from amongst specimens of various series of silver Punch-marked coins of different weight-ranges. In fact, we shall presently see that silver Punch-marked coins with various weight-groups approximating one or other possible denomination of the complex *Kārshāpaṇa* system are known in distinct series and come from widely distant areas.

We are now certain that besides the three silver weight systems viz. the 320 *rati* Vedic *Śatamāna*, the 80-*rati* Kauṭilian *Dharaṇa* and

1, See the Author, *Jour. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, I, p. 57.

2. See the Author, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Pl, I. 7-8 (Tetra-drachms) and Pl. I. 3-4 (Drachms) of the Indian standard.,

3. Regarding average weight of extant *Kārshāpaṇas* or 5-symbol common silver Punch-marked coins, cf. A. Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 44.

the 32-*rati Kārshāpaṇa* (or *Purāṇa* or later *Dharaṇa*) of Manu, there was also an otherwise unrecorded fourth silver weight-system, which is well-represented by the 100-*rati* Bent-bar or Wheel-Marked currency-system prevailing in North-western India and North-Eastern Afghanistan about or prior to the fourth century B. C.[1] This currency had at least three 'common' denominations—full, quarter and one-eighth.[2] Opinions of scholars and numismatists differ with regard to the nomenclature of this currency system. Should the 'full' specimens of this coinage weighing *śata ratis* (100 *ratis*) be called *Śatamānas* ? Now, some older scholars believed that *Māna*, the basic unit of the *Śatamāna* standard, had the weight of a *Kṛishṇala* or *Raktikā* (i. e. modern *Rati*); and this view was expressed long before the discovery of the Wheel-marked (or the so-called Bent-bar) coins, the first three specimens of which made V. A. Smith to conclude that they were 100-*rati* coin[3]. Not only this. Some scholars even straight-away called the full specimens of the Wheel-marked coinage *Śatamānas*.[4] But some other scholars disagreed with this view and stated on the evidence of Manu that *Śatamāna* weighed 320 *ratis*, not 100 *ratis* and that the basic unit of the *Śatamāna* standard, viz. *Māna*, had the weight of 3.2 *ratis* or 5.76 grains (0.38 gram).[5] Some scholars even tried to show that the *Māna* unit under discussion was but the South Indian *Mañjaḍi* seed which approximately weighed 3.2 *ratis*.[6]

We thus see that there is no extant specimen of a 320-*rati* Vedic *Śatamāna* nor a 80-*rati* Kauṭilian *Dharaṇa* (of indigenous origin). which represented the two recognised ancient silver weight-systems. *This may mean that they were only theoretical weights for measuring silver bullions or dust and did not represent any coinage system.*

But curiously enough the term *Dharaṇa* persisted to a later date and by the time of Manu lost more than half of its original weight from 80 *ratis* to 32 *ratis* and indeed represented a universal

1. Cf. M. G. Young, *AI*, No. 1, p. 31.
2. Cf. J. Allan, *BMC* (*AI*), pp. 1-2, Nos. 1-9, Pl. I. 1-3 ('full' coins), and p. 2, Nos. 10-11, Pl. I. 4 (halves) and pp. 2-3, Nos. 12-16, Pl. I. 5 (quarter).
3. See *IMC*, p. 134.
4. E. H. C. Walsh, *Taxila Hoard*, p. 3 and A.S. Altekar, *JNSI*, XV, p. 143, who call the 'full' specimens *Śatamānas*.
5. Cf. *SAIN*, p. 42.
6. See ibid., pp. 43-44.

currency system, for which we have thousands of extant specimens of various possible denominations, many of which are mentioned in ancient texts. Of course, this later reduced *Dharaṇa* of Manu was widely known by the term *Kārshāpaṇa* or *Purāṇa*, i. e. 'Eldling'. This provides us with an instance of a heavy-weight theoretical measure being much reduced to represent an actual monetary unit of reorganised standard.[1]

It is not unlikely that such a contingency arose with the 320-*rati* extraordinarily heavy and unwieldy *Śatamāna* measure, and some authority in the north-western India drastically reduced this weight-system from 320 *ratis* to mere 100 *ratis*, making the basic unit *Māna* to conform to the universally popular *Kṛishṇala* or *Raktikā* (i. e. *Rati*). We have thus a later *Śatarati* or 100-*rati* *Śatamāna* replacing the heavier 320-*rati* *Śatamāna* of the Vedic and Brahmanical texts. But since this system was evidently a short-lived one and prevailed only in the extreme north-west of India amongst people who had little contact with the rest of the vast country, the obscure *Satarati* coinage does not possibly find any mention in known ancient texts. Under the circumstances, we would like to call this somewhat isolated short-lived 100-*rati* coinage-system by the term *Śatamāna* with of course the qualifying word *śatarati* in order to avoid confusion and possible criticism.

Any way, from all that we have so clearly stated above about the earlier heavy and later light *Śatamānas* as well as the earlier heavy and later lighter *Dharaṇas* (or *Karshāpaṇas* or *Purāṇas*), it is not difficult to find out some inherent connection amongst these silver measures. While the earlier 80-*rati* Kauṭilian *Dharaṇa* is but a *Pāda* or Quarter of a Vedic Śatamāna of 320 *ratis*, the, 32-*rati* Mānava *Dharaṇa* represents *daśamāṁśa* or one tenth of the latter (i. e. *Śatamāna*). Similarly, a *śatarati* or 100-rati *Śatamāna* of the later time is but a *Pañchapāda* or Five-quarters of Kauṭilian *Dharaṇa* (of 80 *ratis*) or an *Adhipāda Dharaṇa* of the same system and weight.

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1. Incidentally, it may be noted here that the Indo-Greek kings evidently termed their newly introduced *rati*-based silver pieces of 36 and 144 grains respectively 'Drachms' and 'Tetradrachms' as against the traditional Attic silver coins of the same names weighing as much as 67.2 and 268.8 grains.

Now, since we have no specimen of the silver Punch-marked coinage conforming the weight of the older and heavier *śatamāna* of the Vedic texts and the *Dharaṇa* of Kauṭilya and since the later and lighter *śatarati śatamāna* currency system prevailed in North-Western India in a rather isolated manner (and that too prior to the advent of the Mauryas), we have only the *Kārshāpaṇa* coinage system left to us for consideration in the Pan-Indian context. In fact, for all practical purposes, it was the '*Kārshāpaṇa* system' that prevailed in various parts of the country and was almost universal in use. And as we shall presently see, there various series of silver Punch-marked coinages which easily fit into the complex *Kārshāpaṇa* currency system and conform to one or other of its possible denominations.

(*a*) *Droplet Coins*

The few known specimens of the obscure Droplet coins, which apparently represented the initial crude stage of minting coins by the punch-marking process, do not afford us with any indication of their actual weight-standard, since their weights differ from specimen to specimen.[1] These rare issues fall into class 1 of our arrangement.

(*b*) *Śatarati Śatamānas*

The so-called Bent-bar of Wheel-marked coins were but a sort of *Śatamānas* of the otherwise obscure *Śata-rati* or 100-*rati* (180 grains) standard. The two 'common' lower denominations of the coinage system were *Pāda* and *Pādārdha Śatamānas* of 25 and 12½ *ratis* respectively.[2] These coins fall into our class 3 issues.

(*c*) *Adhyardha Kārshāpaṇas*

The 4-symbol Saucer-like or Cup-shaped coins were but *Adhyardha-kārshāpaṇas* or One-and-a-half *Kārshāpaṇas* of 48 *ratis* each. This coinage system had two other lower denominations, viz. *Pāda-kārshāpaṇas* (i. e. quarter *kārshāpaṇas*) and *Padārdha kārshāpaṇas* (i. e. one-eighth *kārshapaṇas*) respectively weighing 8 and 4 *ratis*.[3] These Saucer-like coins represent the issues of our class 2.

1. While the coin of Mr. C. Valdettaro and that (broken) of Mr. H. P. Poddar respectively weigh 67 and 82 grains, the two specimens in the Author's collection record the weights of 75,6 and 78.7 grains.
2. See J. Allan, *BMC(AI)*, Pl. I. 1-3 (*Pūrṇa Śatamānas*), Pl. I. 4-5 (*Ardha Śatamāna*).
3. See the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, Pl. I. 3-5 (*Adhyardha Kārshāpaṇas*) Pl.I.7. (*Pāda Kārshāpaṇa*), and Pl. I, 8 (*Pādārdhā Kārshāpaṇa*,

An otherwise unknown and obscure series of flat-fabric 4-symbol square *Adhyardha kārshāpaṇas* of distinctly different type[1] have recently been known from apparently the region that yields the Saucer-like pieces. We do not know if this coinage had any other denomination. These rare unpublished coins fall into our class 5 category.

(*d*) *Tripāda Kārshāpaṇas*

Two distinct series of 4-Symbol *Tripāda kārshāpaṇas* or Three-quarters *Kārshāpaṇas* of 24 *ratis* are known. They are linked by a common symbol which may be called the *tripāda* symbol.[2] Coins of the apparently early series were individually processed, and are roundish pieces and of very thin broad fabric.[3] Those of the later series, on the contrary, were mass-produced: their rectangular blanks were prepared by chopping off bits from long strips initially chiselled out of a broad hammered sheet of silver.[4] While the coins of the former broad series came from some places near Lucknow, those of the latter rectangular series came from the famous Paila (Kheri District) Hoard. These coins fall into our complex class 5 category.

We may incidentally note here that Durga Prasad who was the first to study the individully processed roundish coins of the earlier series *at first* considered them as well as the later mass-produced rectangular coins to be of the denomination of 24-*rati Tripāda Kārshāpaṇas* (*NS*, XLV, p. N. 11); but later on he changed his view and thought that both series of coins were but 25-*rati Pādas* of a hundred-*rati* currency system used 'in the lifetime of Buddha and earlier', apparently throughout Northern India (*NS*, XLVII, pp. 76 N. ff.). But since, as we have seen above, the hundred-*rati* silver coinage-system prevailed for a short period in an isolated manner only in the extreme north-west and was practically unknown in other parts

1. These flat-fabric 4-symbol square *Adhyardha Kārshāpaṇas* will soon be published by the Author.
2. Cf. *NS*, xlv, Pls. I-III (the first constant symbol as seen on earlier broad-flan coins); and *JNSI*, Plate I (the first constant symbol as seen on all varieties of the Paila Hoard coins).
8. Cf. *NS*, XLV; Pls. I-III (from the Lucknow area) and Plate XXXI (from the Mathura area).
4. Cf. *JNSI*, II, Pls. V-VII (from the Paila Hoard).

of the country, we firmly believe that these coins were only 24-*rati* *Tripāda Kārshāpaṇas* (as originally held by Durga Prasad), and not 25-*rati Pādas* of a *śata-rati* coinage-system (as later on believed by that eminent numismatist). It is not unlikely that certain specimens of the second rectangular series that weigh more than 24 *ratis* (as referred to by Durga Prasad in *NS*, XLVII, p. 78. N.) were but coins of only 24 *ratis* determined by *Raktikās* slightly heavier than the theoretically average ones (Cf. also P. L. Gupta, *JNSI*, XV, pp. 62 ff.).

(*e*) *Ardha Kārshāpaṇas*

Two distinct series of flat-fabric *Ardha kārshāpaṇas* or Half kārshāpaṇas of 16 *ratis* are known. Specimens of one series were secured from the Lotapur (Unao District) Hoard,[1] while those of the other series are stated to have been discovered in an unknown place in Tripura.[1] These coins fall into our complex class 5 category.

(*f*) *Adhvardha pādikas* (*Kārshāpaṇa standard*)

The Bodinayakkanur (Madurai District) Hoard, the Singavaram (Kṛishna District) Hoard and the Sonepur (Orissa) Hoard have yielded three distinct series of what may be called *Adhyardha pādikas* of the *Kārshāpaṇa* standard, i. e. One-and-a-half quarter-*kārshapaṇas* of 12 *ratis*.[3] These are all flat fabric coins of our complex class 5.

(*g*) *Māshakas and Kākaṇis*

Some finds from places once comprising the ancient Gandhāra and Avanti *Janapadas* have brought to light quite a few series of minute Punch-marked coins with curiously low denominations of what have been recognised by scholars as four, two, one-and-a-half,

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1. See P.L. Gupta, *Bibliography*, p. 70, No. 50: Cf. *NS*, XLV, Pl. VIII and *NS*, XLVII, pp. 54 ff.

2. These highly interesting *Ardha Kārshāpaṇas* are in a private collection and soon to be published by the collector-numismatist himself.

3. See P. L. Gupta, *Bibliography*, pl. 16, No. 107, *JNSI*, VI, p. 1 and *JBBRAS*, XXVI, p. 214 for the Bodinayakkanur coins (1940 and *Bibliography*, p. 18, No. 119, *Trans. Int. Num. Cong.*, 1936, p. 393, and cf. P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, Pl. I. 13 for the Singavaram (1934) coins; and *JNSI*, XIII, p. 92, Pl. V, 13-17, Vol. XIV, p. 22 and Vol. XV, p. 54 and Vol. XIX, pp. 107-110, Pl. I. 1-6 for the Sonepur-type coins.

one, half and quarter *ratis*.[1] These coins may be classified under two weight systems :

(i) the *Raupya Māshaka* system : 2-*rati* coins were *Māshakas*, while 4-and 1-*rati* coins were respectively *Dvi* and *Ardha-māshakas*.

(ii) the *Raupya Kākaṇi* system : while the ½-*rati* pieces were *Kākaṇis*, those weighing 1½ *ratis* and ¼ *ratis* were *Tri-kākaṇnis* and *Ardhakākaṇis* respectively. The minute *Māshaka* and *kākaṇi* pieces fall into our class 4 category.

(*b*) *Pūrṇa Kārshāpaṇa*

As is appears, the Magadha monarchs finally put a stop to various experimentation with standards of weights and evolved a single-denomination 'Full' *Kārshāpaṇa* coinage, specimens of which bore 5 symbols. These coins, which initially were but local issues of Magadha,[2] were destined to be the 'Universal' currency throughout the vast Indian sub-continent for quite a few centuries. There are very many different series of this most distinctive coinage-system according to their respective fabric and symbol-combination.[3] These coins form the bulk of our complex class 5.

4. SHAPE, SIZE AND FABRIC OF SILVER P. M. COINS

The Shape

The shape of the Punch-marked coins depended mainly on the process of preparing the blank. It would become 'roundish' or 'oval', if it was prepared by beating thin globule of a particular weight.[4] It was generally 'elongated', when chopped off from a long bar.[5] It would be 'squarish', 'rectangular or elongated' when it was chopped off from a thin long strip, initially cut off from a broad but uniform sheet of metal.[6] The last process might also

1. Cf. note 6 above. See also the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, p. 36.
2. These initial and strictly 'local' issues of Magadha are well represented by the comparatively rare specimens of the Golakpur (Patna) Hoard : *JBORS*, 1919, pp. 16-72, Pls. I-III (Coins) and Pl. IV (Symbols), Bhabua (Sahabad District) also occasionally yields good number of similar early local issues of Magadha: see P.L. Gupta, ***Bibliography***, p. 9, No. 62 and cf. *JNSI*, IX, Pl. IA. 1-5 and *BMC(AI)*, Pl. IX. 4-7 for these Bhabua-type specimens.
3. Cf. coins of the Second Taxila Hoard of 1924 and the Amaravati Hoard as well as those of Allan's Class VI, *BMC(AI)*, pp. 60-64.
4. Cf. *BMC(AI)*. Pl. X. 17 (round) and Pl. X. 16 (oval).
5. Cf. ibid., Pl. I. 3 (long bar).
6. Cf. ibid., Pl. III. 3 (squarel), Pl. II. 12 (rectangular) and Pl. IX. 20 (elongated).

give rise to blanks of 'irregular' or even triangular shape,[1] when one or more of its corners were clipped to make it conform to a predetermined weight. As we now know, the shape of a coin was of no consequence for its numismatic quality, so long as it conformed to the actual weight-standard and silver content and bore the necessary symbol or symbols (even though partially and in a jumbled up manner).[2] It is, however, not true that the square shape preceded the round shape, as believed by many scholars.[3] For it is almost certain that roundish or oval coins individually processed from globules were the earliest of the Punch-marked issues.[4]

The Size

Sizes of the specimens of the various series of silver Punch-marked coinage depended mainly on the denominations to which they respectively conformed. A four-rati Saucer-like coin would obviously look tiny before its 48–*rati* counterpart. The matter of fabric, of course, had much to do with the size of coins even when they were of the same weight and deonomination. Thus, a 32-rati thin-fabric coin is always bigger in size than its thick-fabric counterpart of the same weight.[5]

The fabric

The technical term 'Fabric' signifies the *general appearance of the coin* as effected by the mode of its fabrication or manufacture which involves the processing of the blank, the execution of the symbols upon individual punches and annealing or the heat-treatment of the blank before finally impressing it with the symbols. Firstly, in respect of shape, size and thickness of the coin its fabric may be 'round or square', 'large or small', 'thick or thin', resulting from the process of preparing the blank. The skilful stamping of well engraved symbols may give the coin a 'neat fabric' as against the 'crude fabric that results from bad execution of the symbol. The

55. Cf. ibid,, Pl. IX. 7 (irregular) and *IMC*, Pl. XIX. 1 (triangular).
56. As Allan remarks: "......shape is of no significance": *BMC(AI)*, p. xx.
57. Cf, V. A. Smith (*IMC*, p. 134) who says: "The cutting of circular blanks from metal sheet being a more troublesome process than shipping strips into short lengths; the circular coins are presumably a later invention than the rectangular ones".
58. See the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, XXXV, p. 4 and n. 3.
59. Cf. the two 32-rati *Kārshāpaṇas*, *BMC(AI)*, Pl, V. 21 (very small and of thick fabric) and Pl. VIII. 1 (very broad and of thin fabric).

'uneven coarse-fabric' of the Droplet coin is due to its globule-blank being impressed with symbols in a semi-molten state. The high degree of heating the blank just before impressing the symbols caused the 'elongated and bent' fabric of the Full Wheel-marked coin or the 'oval or round concave fabric' of the Saucer-like coin. The mild heating or a sophisticated type of annealing of the blank of the 'common' Punch-marked coin ensured smooth imprints of the symbols, leaving its 'flat fabric' practically undisturbed.

5. LOCAL AND UNIVERSAL SERIES OF SILVER P. M. COINS

As the respective find-spots and the number of known coins as well as occurrence of certain groups of counterstamps suggest, but for the commonest 32–*rati* 5–symbol pieces, all other classes of silver Punch-marked coinages were 'Local issues', minted in comparatively small numbers. Resources of their respective minting authorities were more or less limited and the needs of their small territories were naturally not much. This explains why the number of known specimens of these various 'local' series of Punch-marked coinages is small. This is not the case with coins of most series of the commonest 32-*rati* 5-symbol flat-fabric Punch-marked pieces of our class 5. They usually come in hundreds and thousands from various widely scattered areas of the Indian sub-continent. They were evidently the issues of some highly resourcefull central authorities and were meant for 'Universal' currency.

Critical and comparative studies have clearly revealed the fact that specimens of the various 'local' series, *when not squarish in* shape, were invariably individually processed. This was possible because of their more or less restricted mintages in comparatively small numbers. At an apparently very late stage of their minting activities a few of the 'local' authorities, however, felt the need of issuing coins in comparatively large numbers – because of their growing popularity and increasing demand. They had consequently to evolve a more convenient but less troublesome and time-consuming process of minting coins in a mass scale. And this was the sheet-cutting and bit-chopping process, which gave rise to the squarish and rectangular specimens.[1]

1 Specimens of the famous Paila Hoard coin-series (*JNSI*, II, pp. 15-78, Pls. I-VII) perhaps represent the first known attempt at manufacturing coins in a mass scale,

Similarly, resourceful central authorities minting extensive 'Universal series' of coin *always* took recourse to mass-scale production, so that *most specimens* of their money were also squarish or rectangular in form. It was only to use up small residues left over after the mass-scale process of preparing blanks that some coins of the 'Universal series' were as well *individually* prepared in the globule-beating process, which is why we often come across 'round coins' amongst hoards of coins constituting 'Universal issues'.[1]

Since 'local' coins were almost always individually processed, their issuers could devote a greater amount of attention and care to the size of the respective specimens. And since these specimens were of substantial weight, their blanks were carefully prepared in sizes broad enough to take the impressions of the predetermined groups of symbols, which were usually simple but comparatively broad in dimension. Thus, we see that 'local coins' weighing from 48 *ratis* down to 12 *ratis* are generally broad in flan.[2]

As it appears, silver Punch-marked coins of all classes, *other than the medium and small-sized issues of the 32–rati coinage system*, were 'local' issues of small principalities and petty oligarchical states of Northern India, which gradually went to the formation of the extensive empire of Magadha. It is likely, nay almost certain, that some of these coin-series were the early 'local' issues of Magadha when it first became a kingdom. In fact, the recently known unique series of 4–symbol squarish flat-fabric 48-rati coins (*Adhyardha kārshāpāṇas*) of very early mintage may well be ascribed to Magadha, since two of their constant primary marks are the 'Sun' and the 'six-armed symbol' invariably seen on all series of 5–symbol Full *Kārshāpaṇas* (of 32 *ratis*), which were evidently introduced by the mighty monarchs of Magadha.[3]

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1. Cf. P. L. Gupta, *Amaravati Hoard*, p. 5.

2. Cf. the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, Pl, I. 3–5 (Saucer-like 48-*rati Adhyardha Kārshāpaṇas*); ibid., Pl. I. 9-10 (32-*rati Kārshāpaṇas*), Durga Prasad, *NS*, XLV, Pls. I-III and XXXI (24-*rati Tripāda Kārshāpaṇas*); B. V. Nath, *JNSI*, XIII, Pl. V. 13-17 (12-*rati Adhyardha-pādika Karshapaṇas*). These coins testify to the truth of Cunningham's observation (*CAI*, p. 43) that early specimens of silver Punch-marked coins "are generally thin and broad".

3. These highly important link coins will shortly be published by the Author.

This 5-symbol 32-rati silver Punch-marked coinage was gradually but steadily developed into a highly organised monetary system, which turned to be the most firmly established Pan-Indian currency, almost completely suppressing numerous other issuss of various 'local' series of silver coins. A critical and comparative study of these new 5-symbol Magadhan issues may help us in arranging them in an approximate chronological order. The broad-and-thin-fabric constituents of this coinage-system, bearing big distinctly and separately punched symbols of simpler designs, so characteristic of very early mintage, and known in small numbers from certain restricted areas, were but 'local' issues of early Magadhan rulers.[1] They evidently did not attain the status of a 'Universal curencey' till then. Such issues are represented by the specimens of the Golakpur Hoard and the Bhabua-type coins. The successors of these broad-flan coins, which are uniformly of medium and small fabric, were very profusely minted for use throughout the Indian sub-continent, so much so that they duly attained the status of a 'Universal currency' and regularly turn up from all corners of this vast land and are "wonderfully uniform in weight and general style from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin."[2]

6. PROBLEM OF THE INNUMERABLE SYMBOLS OF SILVER P. M. COINS

The most difficult aspect of the silver Punch-marked coinages related to the forms, varieties, uses, diversities and group-combinations

1. As represented by the broad-flan Golakpur (Patna) Hoard coins (*JBORS*, 1919, pp. 16-72, Pls. I-IV) and the Bhabua-type pieces (*JNSI*, IX, pp. 1-5, Pl. 1A. 1-5). We use the term 'Bhabua-type' to signify the latter coins, since they are exactly similar to the 70 Bharat Kala Bhavan specimens coming from Bhabua as noticed by P.L. Gupta, *Bibliography*, p. 9, No. 62 under BHABUA) as well as to some 90 pieces (of a single lot) recently discovered from the Bhabua area and sold in Calcutta by a Bhabua dealer. Regarding the significant similarity of the fabric of the Golakpur Hoard and these Bhabua-type coins see A S. Altekar, *JNSI*, IX, p. 3. Allan's remarks about the distinctly impressed symbols on the large-fabric Golakpur coins also hold good with the similar Bhabua-type specimens : cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. xlvii.

   The sixty-four broad-flan double-obverse silver Punch-marked coins of the Taxila Hoard (*PMCT*, pp. 10-12, 37-39, App. I, Table A) also perhaps represent such early issues of Magadha : cf. the significant remarks of Walsh—"As shown by their very worn appearance and by their weights these were all very old coins at the time of being placed in the hoard, probably some hundreds of years, ..."

2. See V.A, Smith, *IMC*, p. 135.

of the symbols which make up their devices and ultimately turn them into 'coins'.

These symbols are almost innumerable, and represent various natural and man-made objects, patterns or designs.[1] "Most of them are readily recognizable", while many others are difficult to identify. "They are drawn from the animal and plant world' or represent certain geometric patterns or diverse ornamental or difficult-to-describe obscure designs. Then in many cases, again, particular symbols occur in various minutely different forms, e. g. the broad wheel-like symbol as soon on the so-called Bent-bar coins is known in some twelve variant forms,[2] while, as traced by P. L. Gupta, there are at least some seventy different designs of the so-called Six-armed symbol that we see mainly on 'common flat-fabric' full *Kārshāpaṇas*.[3]

Many of these symbols are very simple in design but of comparatively broad dimension.[4] Many others are more minute inform and smaller in size.[5] Some of them are rather of an 'indefinite' or indeterminable type as against others whose types are quite definite and determinable. Symbols of indefinite forms are not easy to des cribe and trace, and have neither the prominence nor the significance of those of the definite type.[6]

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1. For some important studies of these innumerable symbols see (1) W. Theobold, *JASB*, 1890, pp. 181-268, Pls. VIII-XI ; (2) D. B. Spooner, *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1905-06, p. 153; (3) E. H. C. Walsh, *PMCT*, pp. 18-30, Pls. I-III (Taxila Hoard), *JNSI*, II, pp. 18-71, Pl. I, IV (Paila Hoard), *JNSI*, IV, pp. 81-182, Pls. VII-XI (Patraha Hoard); (4) P. N. Bhattacharya, *Patraha Hoard*, Pls. I-VII; (5) Durga Prasad, *NS*, XLV, pp. 11-55, Pls. I-XXXII and *NS*, XLVII, pp. 52-84, Pls.6-11; (6) J. Allan, *BMC(AI)*, pp. xv-lxxiv, 11-116, 297-302; (7) P.L. Gupta, *Amaravati Hoard*, pp. 7-149, Pls. I-III,
2. J. Allan has noted 6 forms, *BMC(AI)*, p. lxvi; we have also come across half a dozen more forms.
3. See *Amaravati Hoard*, Plate I.
4. Cf. Durga Prasad, *NS*, XLV, Pls. I-III *Tripāda Kārshāpaṇas)*: ibid., Pls. IV-V (Golakpur coins); ibid., Pl. VI (Paila coins)—and see also Walsh, *JNSI*, II, Pl. I; cf. also some of the symbols as seen on broad flan coins, *BMC(AI)*, Pls. VII-IX.
5. Cf., for example, the symbols as seen on some small-flan coins as illustrated in *BMC(AI)*, p. 21, No. 50; p. 26; Nos. 16, 17; p. 35, No. 34; p. 42, No. 17.
6. Cf., for example, Reverse symbols on Paila coins, *JNSI*, II, Pls II-IV; and Reverse symbols on Golakpur coins, *NS*, XLV, Pl. IV-V.

Notable amongst the recognisable symbols are : the Human figure (single or in a group of three), elephant, rhinoceros, bull, wolf, dog-seizing-hare, hare, hare-on-hill, rabbit, bird, peacock, peacock-on-hill, snake, frog, scorpion, fish, fishes-in-tank, tortoise, solar symbol, six-armed symbol, hill, crescent-topped hill, tree, tree-in-railing, twig, bow-and-arrow, wheel, wheel-like symbol, steel-yard, triangular-headed standard, taurine, taurines around other symbols, crescent, four crescents around a pellet, caducus-like symbol, dotted hexagon, *tripāda* symbol, Taxila (?) symbol, two-legged oval with three arrow-heads, etc.[1]

These symbols were generally executed *in linear forms* and *in relief* on individual punches, which were of some hard metal and were hammered into the blanks, so that their impressions were sunk into the surface, and the resultant coins became in appearance *minute bas-reliefs in tiny metal flans*.[2] As Allan has very aptly observed, the "symbols that make up the type are beautifully executed and neat pieces of minute engraving".[3]

But even though the symbols are beautiful and their execution is masterly, we often encounter some difficulty in determining and tracing their actual forms. This is in many cases due to crude and careless stamping of the symbols on the coin-blank and impressing them *partially off the flan* or in a jumbled up manner *one over the other,* owing mainly to lack of sufficient space, as on thicker and smaller coins of the 32-rati standard. Coins with these shortcomings, when worn out, damaged or defaced, would always add to our difficulty in determining and tracing their symbols.

Then, again, we see on a given coin two distinct kinds of symbols : (1) some comparatively big symbols very boldly and promi-

1. Most of these symbols have been illustrated by Durga Prasad, *NS,* XLV, Pls. I-XXXII, by E.H.C. Walsh, *PMCT,* Pls. I-III; by J. Allan, *BMC(AI),* pp. 297-302, and by P.L. Gupta, *Amaravati Hoard,* Pls. I-III.

2. Some of the carefully punched coins of large and medium fabrics are really handsome pieces: cf. *BMC(AI),* Pl. VI. 26, Pl. VII. 1, 19: Pl. VIII, 1, 2, 9; Pl. IX, 4, 6, 7. Cf. also *NS,* XLV, Pl. XIII- 43, 51 and Pl. XXXI (obv.).

3. *BMC(AI),* p. xxi.

nently stamped *almost invariably on the obverse,*[1] and (2) others of 'much smaller size' comparatively lightly impressed *mostly on the reverse.*[2] The respective characteristics of the two kinds of symbols lead us to classify them as: (i) Primary Obverse Symbols, and (ii) Secondary Reverse Symbols otherwise called 'Counterstamps' or 'Countermarks'.

A. Primary and Secondary Symbols

Primary symbols were but publicly recognised marks of the better-organised and better-equipped minting authorities, which the mint people stamped on somehow heated or duly annealed *blanks*[3] of official specifications in order to turn them into regular state 'coins'. The Secondary symbols or Counterstamps were, on the contrary, merely the 'testing' or 'authentication' marks of 'private' or 'authorised' individuals, which were impressed from time to time, or just after their manufacture on the cold and hard surface of the finally minted *coins.*[4] However, the number of symbols of the silver Punch-marked coins is remarkably extensive. Every new hoard or unpublished collection of coins is likely to add to their great number.[5]

B. Group-constituent of Primary Symbols

The actual number of Primary Obverse symbols on given specimens varies according to different classes, series or denominations of silver Punch-marked coinages. We may here cite some important cases.

1. These *extra symbols of smaller size* are sometimes impressed on the obverse along with the 'bold' ones—specially on the older issues like the Golakpur Hoard specimens: cf. Durga Prasad, *NS*, XLV, Pls. IV-V, Column 6. These, as we shall presently see, are but 'Secondary Symbols' or Countermarks.
2. Cf., for example, *BMC(AI)*, Pl. II. 21, Pl. V. 23 and Pl. VIII. 1.
3. Primary symbols are punched one after the other at the instance of the *Lakshaṇādhyaksha* (Mint Master) on 'blanks' (inside the Mint itself) and the blanks thus became 'coins'. See below.
4. Secondary symbols were impressed on *regular* 'coins'—(i) either at the mints by the *Rupadarśaka* (Official Tester of coins') *just after their manufacture and before their dispersal from there,* or (ii) by private individuals like shroffs, *outside the mint,* at irregular intervals, when the 'coins' were in active circulation. See below.
5. Cf. E.H.C. Walsh, *PMCT*, p. 6: "The number of different Obverse Marks which occur on Punch-marked coins is very great, and each new find adds some fresh ones". This is true not only of the Obverse Marks *but also* of the Reverse Marks.

On the initial Droplet coins as well as on the various obscure series of our Sixth (Miscellaneous) Class we find no set criterion regarding the number of symbols, which may be one or more.[1]

(*i*) *One-symbol Coins*

The *Māshaka* and *Kākaṇi* series of the Minute coinages, the[2] Saucer-like 4-rati *Pādārdha kārshāpaṇas*,[3] the Wheel-marked 25-rati *Pāda* and 12½-rati *Padārdha* (*Satarati*) *Śatamānas*[4] and 16 *rati Ardha-kārshāpaṇas* of the Lotapur Hoard[5] bear a single Primary symbol on the obverse.

(*ii*) *Two-symbol Coins*

Two Primary Obverse symbols occur on the Wheel-marked *Pūrṇa* (*Śatarati*) *Śatamānas*[6] and the Saucer-like 8-rati *Pāda kārshāpaṇas*.[7]

(*iii*) *Four-symbol Coins*

Both classes of the 48-rati Saucer-like and the flat-fabric *Adhyardha kārshāpaṇas*,[8] the Durga Prasads eries of the broad-fabric 24-rati *Tripāda kārshāpaṇas*,[9] the *Tripāda kārshāpaṇas* of the mass-produced Paila Hoard series,[10] and the *Ardha-kārshāpaṇa* specimens of the two interesting series of the Sonepur (Orissa) and Singavaram (Krishna District) hoards[11] all display four Primary Obverse symbols.

(*iv*) *Five-symbol Coins*

But the 16-rati *Ardha-kārshāpaṇas* of the unique series of the Bodinayakkanur (Madurai District) Hoard and the 32-rati *Pūrṇa*

1. Cf, for instance, the Droplet coin of the Valdettaro collection, *JNSI*, XXXV, Pl. I. 13, on which the obverse shows three symbols.
2. Each of these tiny pieces bear only partial impression of a single symbol : cf. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 21.
3. Cf, *JNSI*, XXXV, Pl. I. 8.
4. See *BMC*,(*AI*), Pl. I. 4 (*Pād Śatamāna*) and Pl.I.5 (*Pādārdha Śatamāna*).
5. See *NS*, XLV, Pl. VIII.
6. See *BMC*(*AI*), Pl. I. 1-3.
7. See *JNSI*, XXXV, Pl. I. 7.
8. See *JNSI*, XXXV, Pl. I. 3-6 (Saucer-like pieces), the flat-fabric coins will shortly be published by the Author.
9. For the two varieties of these *Tripāda Kārshāpaṇas* see *NS*, XLV, Pls. I-III and Pl. XXXI.
10. See *JNSI*, II, Pls. IV-VII.
11. See *JNSI*, XIII, Pl. V. 13-17 (Sonepur coins) and P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, Pl. I. 13 (Singavaram coin).

Kārshāpaṇas of all known 'local' or 'Universal' series bear on their obverse *five* Primary symbols.[1]

C. Forms of Primary Symbols of above Groups

The forms of the constituents of the above groups of two, four and five symbols vary according to the different classes, series, types and varities of coins.

(*i*) *Symbols on Wheel-marked coins of the Śatarati Standard*

The two unusually broad wheel-like symbols that occur on the two ends of the *Pūrṇa* (*Śatarati*) *Śatamānas* were impressed by one and the same punch, which, means that the two symbols are identical in design.[2]

Since the same broad punch is used to impress the single symbol on the *Pāda* or *Pādādha* (*Śatarati*) *Śatamānas*, the flans of which are smaller in dimension than the punch itself, the symbol is always partially seen on them.

(*ii*) *Symbols on the Saucer-Coins*

Of the four big symbols of the high-denomination Saucer like *Adhyardha Kārshāpaṇas*, the two similar constant symbols are uniformly bigger than the two *identical but changing* ones. The two constant symbols, though somewhat similar in appearance, are not identical in design, which means that they were impressed by two different punches. But the smaller changing symbols, being identical, were stamped twice on each coin by one and the same punch. Thus, three different punches were employed to stamp these coins : and the 4 symbols were of the A-X-B-X order.[3]

The very thin small and elongated *Pādakārshāpaṇas* of this Saucer-like coinage always bear the two constant symbols, A and B; while the small thin round one-symbol *Pādārdha kārshāpaṇas* of the same coinage-system bear the constant symbol 'A'.[4]

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1. See *JBBRAS*, XXVI, pp. 214-218 (Bodinayakkanur coins) and *BMC* (*AI*). Pls. II-IX ('full' 32-rati *Kārshāpaṇas* of both 'local' and 'Universal' types).

2. Cf. *BMC*(*AI*), p. 2, No. 1, Pl. I. 1.

3. See *JNSI*, XXXV, Pl. I. 3-6. The Singavaram coins too display their four symbols in the A-X-B-X order, but the forms of those symbols are basically different : cf. M. Mitchiner, *OIC*, Pl. V. 1-3 (Kalinga).

4. Cf. *JNSI*, XXXV, Pl. I. 8 and Pl. I. 9.

(*iii*) *Symbols on Flat-fabric Adhyardha kārshāpaṇas*

The recently known flat-fabric squarish *Adhyardha kārshāpaṇas* also bear four comparatively big but distinctly different symbols ; of them, the two constant ones are the 'Sun' and the 'Six-armed Symbol', as seen on certain very early-type broadflan 5-symbol *Pūrṇa Kārshāpaṇas*,[1] while the *changing two* vary from variety to variety.

(*iv*) *Symbols on Big-flan Roundish Tripāda kārshāpaṇas*

The two series of somewhat similar broad-flan roundish *Tripāda kārshāpaṇas*, as published by Durga Prasad in *NS*, XLV, Pls. I-III and *NS*, XLV, Pl. XXXI, also bear four different sets of unusually big symbols of distinctly different forms. The two series of coins are linked together by one identical and constant symbol, which also occurs on some specimens of the Lotapur coins and which may well be called the *tripāda* symbol.[2] The other three symbols vary from class to class and from variety to variety.

(*v*) *Symbols on Mass-produced Smaller Tripāda kārshāpaṇas*

The mass-produced rectangular 4-symbol *Tripāda kārshāpaṇas* of the Paila Hoard are linked with their just described big-flan roundish counterparts by the same *tripāda* symbol, though drawn in a less ornamental form.[3] Of the other three changing symbols, the Bull and the Hexagon are also seen on certain specimens of the above broad-flan roundish *Tripāda kārshāpaṇas*, as illustrated in *NS*, XLV, Pls. I-III.

(*vi*) *Symbols on Sonepur and Singavaram Series of Ardha-kārshāpaṇas*

The two distinctive and unique series of the 4-symbol *Ardha-kārshāpaṇas* of the Sonepur (Orissa) and the Singavaram (Krishna District) hoards bear altogether two different types of constant symbols, forms of which are not seen on any other series of silver

1. See note 3 on page 24 above.

2. Cf. *NS*. XLV, Pl. VIII, Obverse symbol No. 3.

3. Cf. Symbol No. 1 on Pl. VI (obverse) and the obverse Symbol on coin No. 3 on Pl. VIII in *NS*. XLV. The Plate VI coins though obtained from Lucknow, are evidently of the Paila Hoard series : cf. *JNSI*, II, Pls. V-VII.

Punchmarked coinages [1] The Sonepur coins bear four different symbols in the A-B-C-D order, while the Singavaram pieces have them in the A-X-A-Y order.

(*vii*) *Symbols on Bodinayakkanur Series of Ardha-kārshāpaṇas*

Of the almost constant group of five symbols as seen on the distinctly uniform series of *Ardha-kārshāpaṇas* of the Bodinayakkanur Hoard, two are the 'Sun' and the 'Sixarmed symbol' that occur on the *Pūrṇa Kārshāpaṇas* of both 'local' and 'Universal' series.[2] These coins, interestingly enough, bear on the *reverse* a sixth constant symbol.

(*viii*) *Symbols on Pūrṇa Kārshāpaṇas*

But for the two distinct, very late and exceptional series of small-fabric *Pūrṇa Kārshāpaṇas*, one showing 'three human figures'[3] and the other displaying the 'two-legged oval with three arrow-heads',[4] two of the five Primary symbols on all other (local or Universal) series of *Pūrṇa Kārshāpaṇas* are constantly the 'Sun' and the 'Six-armed Symbol'.[5]

The above two exceptional series of *Pūrṇa Kārshāpaṇas*, which do not bear the 'sun' and the 'six armed symbol' are linked together by four common symbols : (a-b) a 'peculiar tree' and 'elephant on a peculiar stand' (cf. *BMC, AI*, p. 22, No. 58 Pl. III. 16 and Ibid., p. 21, No. 50 Pl. III. 8) ; (c) a sort of 'steel-

1. The symbols of the Sonepur pieces are minutely executed : (1) Elephant, (2) Bull, (3) 2 Bulls standing on two sides of a dividing line, and (4) Circle with a knob in the centre and dots around: cf. B. V. Nath, *JNSI*, VIII, Pl. V. 13-17.

   The Singavaram coins have (1) Elephant, (2) Palmbranch, (?) (3-4) two squarish symbols of the *same design*, composed of a central pellet with four smaller circles at four corners and four small pellets in between the circles ; cf. P.L. Gupta; *Coins*, Pl. I. 13 (the four symbols occurring in the A-X-B-X order.

2. The other three symbols are (1) a taurine-topped domed temple, (2) a twig with a taurine on either side, and (3) a trident-battle-axe in a square railing. The sixth constant dome-like symbol that these coins have on the reverse appears to be a Primary symbol.

3. These 'three human figures' are considered as *three separate symbols* and are either compositely impressed with the same single punch as on *BMC(AI)*, p, 26, No. 14, Pl. IV. 10, or with three different punches as on ibid., p. 24, No. 79 Pl. IV. 3.

4. See ibid., p. 26, No. 17 Pl. XLI. 2.

5. Cf. ibid., Pls. II-X.

yard balance') cf. Ibid., p. 26, No. 14 Pl. IV. 10 and Ibid., No. 17 Pl. XLI. 2) ; and (d) the 'Caduceus-like symbol' (cf. Ibid. p. 26, No. 18 Pl. V. 16 and Ibid., No. 28 Pl. V. 12). Coins bearing the 'three human figures' display a fourth and a fifth symbols.[1] Those bearing the 'two-legged oval with three arrow-heads' have four other symbols.

D. Coins with Primary Symbols on Both Sides

Certain 32-rati *Kārshāpaṇas* display Primary symbols on both sides (with or without counterstamps). When closely examined, we see : (i) that the coins concerned are of medium flans, i. e. mass-produced issues of the intermediary period ; (ii) that the Primary symbols number five on each of the two sides (obverse and reverse) of the coins ; (iii) that the set of symbols on one side is much more worn and disfigured than that on the other side ; and (iv) that the side that bears the disfigured set of Primary symbols is always battered. These interesting facts make it clear that these 'double-obverse' coins are restrikes of 'older' specimens.[2] As it appears, some new authority would pick up (older) coins of its predecessors from circulation or from deposits of banks and treasuries and restrike them by impressing its own set of five symbols on the *original blank reverse.*

E. The Secondary Symbols

(*a*) *Manners of their Occurrence*

From a prolonged comparative study we have observed certain interesting facts about the manners of occurrence of the Secondary symbols. In some cases they outnumber the Obverse Primary symbols ; and when they do so, they may even occur on the obverse along with the Primary symbols or on both obverse and reverse of the same coin.[3] In many other cases the number of these Secondary symbols or counterstamps is comparatively few or reduced

1. See note 3 on page 26 above.
2. Cf. *PMCT*, Pls. XXVIII-XXIX ff. (coins marked with an asterisk). Such double-obverse re-punched (i.e. reissued) coins in the Taxila Hoard number 64. The Amaravati Hoard had as many as 96 similar double-obverse specimens : see P. L. Gupta, *Amaravati Hoard*, pp. 7; 112-116.
3. Cf. *NS*, XLV, Pls. I-III.

to *one* only.[1] With regard to form, counterstamps, though *generally different* from the Primary symbols, may sometimes be *identical* with certain known and distinctive Primary symbols;[2] and in many cases, again, the counterstamps may even be a smaller replica of one or other Primary symbol occurring on the obverse of the same coin.[3]

Then, as already shown, these counterstamps may represent recognisable objects or may be of indefinite, indeterminable and obscure forms.[4] Exigencies of situations at various stages of the evolution of the silver punch-marked coinage-system called for the introduction and subsequent uses of the Secondary symbols.

The very use of the Secondary symbol or counterstamp probably started as a sort of 'testing mark'. In the initial experimental stage, when numismatic issues were sporadically brought out by petty princes or chiefs of small states, they were but little-authenticated obscure coins, exposed to the mercy of dishonest forgers. The intrinsic value of these primitive coins—solely depending on weight and metal-content--had often to be verified by weighing them and testing their metal, specially by people like the merchants and bankers who had to handle good numbers of them. And it often happened that one and the same coin, which repeatedly reached their hands in course of circulation, was thus examined over and over again. It was apparently to avoid such repeated testing of the same coins that some ingenious trader or banker conceived of the idea of putting a sort of 'testing mark' on the coins he once examined, and accordingly had his own punch with that mark prepared for such stamping. Others soon realised the convenience and usefulness of this first ever counterstamp and their own punches with their respective 'testing mark' for similar use. Apparently

1. Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. 27, No. 26 Pl. V. 15 (3 reverse symbols); Pl. V. 12 (3 reverse symbols); Pl. V. 12 (2 rev. symbols) and p. 26, No, 14 Pl. IV. 10 (1 rev. symbol).
2. The peacock-on-hill symbol, which is often seen on the obverse of silver Punch-marked coins *BMC(AI*, p. 25, Nos. 1-12) sometimes occurs as 'counterstamp' on the reverse (ibid., p. 26, No. 17 Pl. XLI. 2).
3. See *BMC(AI)*, p. 26, No. 14 Pl. IV. 10, on which the peacock-on-hill symbol occurs on both the obverse and the reverse.
4. The countermark on the coin, *BMC(AI)*, p. 39, No, 39 Pl. XLII. 3, for instance, is the well-known three-peaked hill with crescent above. The reverse symbol on the coin, ibid., p. 36, No. 44, Pl. VI. 4 is obscure.

these 'testing mark' or counterstamps were initially (and for a long time) ill-executed obscure symbols of little faith so much so that an individual trader or banker, even when he saw one or more of these 'testing marks' (other than his own) already stamped upon a given coin, would all the same examine it in his own way and imprint upon it his own counterstamp. Thus, specimens of early 'local' issues, like the Saucer-like *Adhyardhakārshāpaṇas*, wheel-marked *Śatamānas*, and broad-and thin-fabric *Tripādakārshāpaṇas*, would often bear quite a good number of countermarks—mostly of indefinite and obscure forms.[1]

However, with the passage of time, considerable progress was made in the matter of improving the quality of these early coinages of various localities. Gradually and steadily their minting was better organised and their currency became more or less popular, widespread and established. People were assured of the intrinsic value of these various series of coins; and the different group-combinations of symbols that they bore were well-recognised by knowledgeable persons.[2] Even ordinary users of these early coins realised the significance of the individual secondary symbols, which by then were better-designed and perhaps recognised as testing marks of well-known traders or respectable bankers; and this, no doubt, gave them a sense of security. Thus, the necessity of repeated examinations of circulating coins was much reduced, so that they began to receive fewer counterstamps, which were better organised better designed and well recognised. And we may reasonably presume that State officials like the heads of treasuries and revenue departments gradually started controlling the situation by carefully examining coins and putting on them this respective duly authorised 'testing' (nay, authentication') marks, which often took the forms of well-known obverse primary symbols.

By the time the use of coins was widespread, popular and firmly established, political situation of the country changed to a considarble extent. The mighty Magadhan monarchy steadily consolidated its position by wiping out numerous petty principalities and

1. See, for instance, *NS*, XLV, Pls. I-III: 12 *Tripāda Kārshāpaṇas*, on which 3 (No. 1) to 14 (No. 12) 'countermarks' occur.

2. Cf. the oft-quoted passage of Buddhaghosha's *Visuddhimaggo*, as quoted in D. C. Sircar's *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 98, which states that an experienced shroff handling a lot of *Kahāpaṇa-Kārshāpaṇas* would know much about their places of issue.

small autonomous states of Northern and Central India. With endless resources at their command Magadhan kings established mints in a highly well-organised manner. Besides equipping these large-scale coin-manufacturing units they employed technically qualified *Lakshaṇādhyakshas* (i. e. Superintendents or Masters of Mints)[1] and posted, side by side, duly authorised *Rūpadarśakas* (i. e. Official testers or examiners of coins),[2] whose duty it was to regularise the currency as duly authenticated medium of exchange and legal tender by examining coins and stamping upon their respective(secondary) authentication marks,—*just aftar* their manufacture and *before* their dispersal from the State mints or workshops run by agencies duly authorised by the State. Thus, coins of very late mintage, ascribable to the Magadhan monarchs, *generally* bear on their reverse *one single* counterstamp often resembling a well-known obverse primary symbol.[3] Again, counter-mark on a given coin is often but a smaller replica of an obverse symbol.[4] Of course, there are coins of this stage that bear a secondary mark or marks along with the official one just spoken of; these coins were evidently re-exmined and counterstamped by some over-zealous person or persons,who had little faith in official testing.[5]

Thus, under the above reasonably plausible circumstances, secondary symbols (*alias* 'testing' or 'authentication' marks) were variously designed and stamped on silver punch-marked coins throughout the long period of their currency and circulation. We now know why some of them are indefinite and obscure in form as against others that are easily identifiable and clearly traceable. We also see why some coins bear a large number of such countermarks, while others display a few or even only one of them, often identical in form and design with some obverse primary symbol.

1. See Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Kangle's 1960 Edition), 2.12.24.
2. See ibid., 2.12.26. Cf. also Durga Prasad, *NS*, XLV, p. 55 for corroborative evidence.
3. Cf. the reverse symbol, 'four taurines around a pellet', on the coin, *BMC(AI)*, p. 54, No. 4-6, which occurs as the obverse Primary symbol on coins No. 54-56, (pp. 50-51).
4. Ibid., p. 29, Nos. 11-12 on which the caduceus-like symbol occurs on both the obverse and the reverse.
5. Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. 30, No. 27 and p. 31, Nos. 28-30, where a second countermark (in the form of a thick taurine) occurs along with what looks like the official authentication mark, viz. the caduceus like symbol.

THE INEVITABLE QUESTIONS

A comprehensive and scientific study of the different aspects of the various 'Local' and 'Universal' series of coins of the Punch-marked system will lead us to the inevitable questions regarding their respective Origin, Antiquity, Evolution, Place of Mintage and Area of Circulation, and Authorship.

These questions relate to each distinct series of silver Punch-marked coinages. We are to ascertain the circumstances that led to the minting of each of them. How old are the coins of these various series ? What are the stages of evolution through which each of them passed ? What are the places where they were manufactured ? And what were their various ranges of circulation ?

What then was their respective purchasing power ? What role did they play in the economy of the various communities of ancient India ? Were they exclusively used by the richer section of the people ? Or were they also used by members of the middle and poorer sections ?

Who were the respective issuers of the different series of these diverse coinages ? This last question also raises a much discussed point : were the respective issuers 'Private individuals' or 'State authorities' ?

THE GIGANTIC TASK

Enormous indeed are the complexities of the various distinct and widely scattered series of archaic silver coins manufactured by the Punch-marking technique, and too many are the problems they involve. These relate not only to the various technical aspects of the coins themselves but also—and perhaps mainly—to the enigma that concerns with the once-meaningful symbols that invariably occur on them. So far as the technical aspects are concerned, they can be tackled by prolonged and patient studies. But this is not the case with the innumerable diverse symbols, the precise meaning of which we do not know.

The symbols involve the most formidable task. We must make comprehensive study of these enigmatic marks of the staggeringly extensive silver coinages of the Punch-marked system, verify their respective forms, with scientific precision, trace and illustrate them accurately and finally classify them in a scientific manner. Before we do that we cannot hope to unravel the mystery that surrounds the

diverse Punch-marked coinages. Then we may know if the symbols had any social, administrative, religious or ritualistic significance, and if they had anything to do with the issuing authority or the master of the mints or the locality of their mintage. It may then also be clear why a particular series of coins had a single symbol, while others bore two, four or five of them as Primary marks.

The 'Local' silver Punch-marked coins are of very many series. The respective numbers of extant specimens of these different series are, on the contrary, comparatively few. Their problems are of a different nature. But the great numbers of the various 'Universal' series of silver Punch-marked coins pose a different kind of problems. In fact, these 'Universal' types of later *Kārshāpaṇas* turning up in hundreds and thousands from all corners of the vast Indian sub-continent may very well claim to be the world's most well-organised and extensive orchaic issues. Generations of scholars, both European and Indian, have worked on them for over a century and a half, and published the results of their prolonged and patient studies in hundreds of more or less extensive papers as well as in a number of monographs and books. Like the coinage itself the bibliography of the Punch-marked currency is overwhelmingly extensive and many-sided. Yet we are in the dark about the mysterious symbols that these enigmatic coins invariably bear. We are also far from knowing the precise answers to many of the vital questions that these coins raise.

The overall task is gigantic indeed : it requires patient, concerted and prolonged studies by bands of trained, devoted and hard-working numismatists. They must examine thousands of coins in innumerable 'Local' and 'Universal' classes, series, types and varieties lying in countless private and official collections all over the world. They have to make scientific studies of their various aspects by weighing, measuring and photographing the coins. They have also to ascertain and accurately trace the respective forms of the symbols seen on these coins, and, if necessary, feed their classified data into powerful electronic computers for certain specific answers.[1] Thus finaly they can prepare the *Comprehensive Corpus of the Silver Punch-marked Coinages*.

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1. This is an interesting suggestion of my friend, Mr. C. Valdettaro,

APPENDIX : VARIOUS SILVER WEIGHT–SYSTEMS OF ANCIENT INDIA AND THEIR POSSIBLE AND EXTANT (*) DENOMINATIONS

N. B. 1 Rati=1.8 Grains=0.12 Gram.

A. 320–Rati 'Older' *Śatamāna* (Manu, VIII.137)

	Rati	*Grain*	*Gram*
Pūrṇa Śatamāna	320	576	37.32
*Pāda Śatamāna	80	144	9.33
*DaŚamāṁsa Śatamāna (or Purāṇa, Dharaṇa, Kārshāpaṇa Of Manu)	32	57.6	3.73

B. (100–Rati) *Śatarati Śatamāna* (Wheel–marked Coin)

*Pūrṇa Śatamāna	100	180	11.66
*Ardha Śatamāna	50	90	5.83
Adhyardha pādika Śatamāna	37.5	67.5	4·37
*Pāda Śatamāna	25	45	2.92
*Pādārdha Śatamāna	12.5	22.5	1.46

C. 80–Rati Older Dharaṇa (Kautilya, 2.19.5–6)

*Pūrṇa Dharaṇa (Indo-Greek Tetradrachm)	80	144	9.33
Tripāda Dharaṇa	60	108	7.
Ardha Dharaṇa	40	72	4.67
Adhyardha pādika Dharaṇa	30	54	3.5
*Pāda Dharaṇa (Indo–Greek Drachm)	20	36	2.33
*Pādārdha Dharaṇa (Indo–Greek Hemidrachm)	10	18	1.17

D. 32–Rati 'Later' *Dharaṇa*, *Purāṇa* or *Kārshāpaṇa* (Manu, VIII. 135–136)

*Dvi-Kārshāpaṇa (NS, XLV, PI.VII.I)	64	115.2	7.47
*Pūrṇa Kārshāpaṇa	32	57.6	3.73
*Tripāda Kārshāpaṇa	24	43.2	2.80
*Ardha Kārshāpaṇa	16	28.8	1·87
*Adhyardha pādi Kārshāpaṇa	12	21.6	1.40
*Pāda Kārshāpaṇa	8	14.4	0.93

*Pādārdha Kārshāpaṇa (Raupya Dvi–Māshaka)	4	7.2	0.47
D–A. Raupya Māshaka Series			
*Dvi–Māshaka	4	7.2	0.47
*Māshaka	2	3.6	0.23
*Ardha Māshaka	1	1.8	0.12
D–B. Raupya Kākaṇi Series			
*Tri–Kākaṇi	1.50	2.7	0.18
*Dvi–Kākaṇi (or Ardha–Māshaka)	1	1.8	0.12
*Kākaṇi	0.50	0.9	0.06
*Ardha Kākaṇi	0.25	0.45	0.03

INDIA'S EARLIEST INSCRIBED COINS: THE CITY ISSUES*

Bela Lahiri

India's earliest coins are not inscribed, that is, they do not bear any writing on them. These uninscribed coins originated in the pre-Maurya period and continued to be issued even during the rule of the Mauryas, and many of them circulated till a later time.

The earliest and the most widely known written documents in India, so far known (excepting the inscribed but undiciphered Indus Valley seals), are the inscriptions of Aśoka. Inscriptions or legends on coins began to appear probably in the last days of the Maurya rule, when writing was rather widely in vogue. But it was only after the Maurya period that inscribed coins were abundantly issued and widely in circulation. According to some scholars, the Indians learnt the fashion of putting the name of the issuing authority or legends on coins from the Indo-Greeks.[1] But this view is palpably wrong. For, some of the earliest known Indo-Greek coins are but copies of certain inscribed indigenous issues of the Taxila region. Scholars like Cunningham, Rapson and Allan have shown that Agathocles imitated with little modification the die-struck pieces of Taxila bearing the legend *Hirañ asame* (Skt. *Hiraṇyāśrama*, i. e. 'the Golden Hermitage').[2] Again, some early cast coins with legends like *Kāḍasa, Upagodasa, Upātikyā*,[3] etc., bearing no visible mark of foreign influence on them, were evidently earlier in date than the earliest Indo-Greek issues. Moreover, the die-struck Eran coin with the legend *Dhamapālasa*, impressed in the negative, and to be read from right to left, furnishes perhaps the earliest example of India's inscribed coins and is undoubtedly earlier than any Indo-Greek

* Professor V. V. Mirashi very kindly went through this paper and made a few suggestions, which have duly been taken into account.

1. Cf. S. K. Chakrabortty, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics* (*SAIN*), p. 138; and D. C. Sircar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 159.

2. Cf. *BMC,AI*, p. cxxxi, and *PMC*, I, p. 18, Pl. II. 51 (Taxila) and Pl. II. 52 (Agathocles).

3. *BMC(AI)*, p. 145 Pl. XIX. 14 (*Kadasa*); *ibid.*, p. 263 Pl. XXXV. 18 (*Upagodasa*); and *ibid.*, Pl. XXXV. 19 (*Upātikyā*).

coin.[1] The wrong manner of engraving the die, the writing in large and Aśokan Brāhmī characters, and the striking of the coin on a single die—all suggest its very early date.

The stratigraphical evidence of coins in various excavations in different places of India, such as Hastīnāpur, Kauśāmbī, Rajghat, Śrāvastī, Sehgaura, etc. clearly indicates that inscribed coins started later than the uninscribed ones.[2] Of the three classes of India's earliest inscribed issues, viz. City Coins, Dynastic Issues and Tribal Coins, the City coins are found in many places in association with the Punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins from layers datable to about the third and second centuries B. C., while they are rare in later layers.[3] In Kauśāmbī and Hastināpur excavations, coins bearing names of rulers came from later starta than those yielding uninscribed issues.[4] And since the City coins are very often associated with uninscribed pieces in several sites, they also appear to have antedated the dynastic issues. In Kauśāmbī, again, the City coins which are cast and closely connected with the early uninscribed cast pieces of that place were presumably followed by the die-struck coins bearing rulers' names.[5] Similarly in Ayodhyā, the early uninscribed cast pieces, some of which (*var.* 3) have a steel-yard, and are comparable to some Negamā coins of Taxila showing a steel-yard, may be regarded as the uninscribed City coins of Ayodhyā,[6] and were followed by the Dynastic issues. The City coins are generally of purely indigenous fabric and character, betrarying no sign whatsoever of any foreign influence, as sometimes may be noticed on the

1. Cf. *BMC (AI)*, p.xci, Sec. 102, and p. 140, Pl. XVIII. 6. For the wrong way of making the die of the coin see A.N. Lahiri *Seminar Papers on Local Coins of Northern India (SPLCNI)*, Varanasi, 1968, p. 213.
2. Cf. *SPLCNI*, pp. 105 ff. Cf .also author's article, in *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*, (ed. A. M. Shastri) pp. 115 ff.
3. Cf. *SPLCNI*, pp. 159-160.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 105 ff.; G.R. Sharma, *The Excavations at Kauśāmbi*, 1957-59 (Allahabad, 1960), pp. 19-23, 82-85; and *Ancient India*, Nos. 10-11, 101-103 (Hastināpur Excavations).
5. Cf. *BMC (AI)* p. xcvi, Secs. 107 and 108 and p. xcix, Sec. 110.
6. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxvii-viii, Sec. 98, and p. 129. There are three types of these uninscribed coins (1) Flowers Plain (Pl. XVI. 6) (2a, Rd.) *Svastika* : A pellet surrounded by 4 crescents (Pl. XVI. 7); (2b, sqr,) *Svastika :* Bull (*JASB*, 1880, Pl. XVII. 16B); and (3) A *Svastika* over a fish : A crescent or a taurine above a steel-yard (*BMC, AI*, Pl.XVI. 8-10).

specimens of the other two categories of inscribed issues. Moreover, the cryptic Brāhmī legends of the City coins, consisting of the Prākrit forms of the names of the cities *in the nominative,* are in sharp contrast with those of the Dynastic or Tribal issues, which are *in the genitive,* and indicates an earlier date of mintage for the former. We may, thus, conclude that the City coins were the earliest of the inscribed monetary issues of India and started about the second half of the third or the beginning of the second century B. C.

The cites so far known to have issued coins bearing their names are Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, Vidiśā, Erakiṇa, Bhāgila, Kurara, Ujjayinī, Tripurī Māhishmatī and probably Tagara. As already noted, the early uninscribed cast pieces, some of which have the device of a steel-yard, may be regarded as the City issues of Ayodhyā, although no coin bearing the name of the city is so far known.[1] The Negamā coins of Taxila, which gave the legends in the nominative as in the case of the City coins and are in the nature of guild-tokens may also be included in the category of City issues.[2] The unique gold piece bearing the figure of a goddess and the legend *Phakhalavadidevata*[3] (the City divinity of Pushkalāvatī) on the obverse and Greek legend *Taurus* on the reverse, was probably struck by the Indo-Scythians and was not an indigenous

1. Some Allahabad Museum coins are supposed to bear the legend, *Ajudhe, Ajadhe,* or *Ajidhe : JNSI,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 210, Pl. VI. 10. But the illustration does not permit us to be certain about the reading. Moreover, the coins are reported to have come along with some Ahichchhatra coins and not from the site of Ayodhyā itself. It is therefore highty doubtful if they can be regarded as the City coins of Ayodhyā.

   Dr. N. Ahmad had misunderstood my obvervation on the city coins of Ayodhyā (*SPLCNT,* p. 29), by which I referred to the early cast uninscribed pieces (cf. n. g.), and has wrongly taken that I have accepted the above Allahabad Museum coins as the City coins of Ayodhyā (*JNSI,* XXXIII, Pt. II, p. 114).

2. Cf. Allan, *BMC (AI),* p. cxxx. Although no coin bearing the name of the City of Taxila itself has so far been discovered, the local coins of Taxila amply demonstrate the fact that Taxila was one of the great trade-centres which emerged as autonomous cities during the decaying powers of the Mauryas. The Taxila coins are virtually like City issues and therefore it will not be perhaps out of context to include them amongst the city issues.

3. Cf. *The Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I (*CHI*), pp. 557 and 587, Pl. VI. 10.

issue. Another coin reprenting the City divinity of Kapiśā with the legend *Kavisiya-nagaradevata* was likewise struck by the Indo-Greek prince Eucratides I Megas[1]. There are some other coins with curious legends like *Kāḍasa, Vaṭasvaka, Upagodasa, Upātikyā, Madavika*, etc.,[2] but we are not in a position to ascertain if those names referred to cities or tribes.

The existence and importance of the cities which issued coins during the third and second centuries B. C. are also confirmed by Patañjali who mentions pāṭaliputra, Kāśī–Vārāṇasī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Kānyakubja, Mathurā, Ahichchhatra, Madhyamikā, Ujjayinī, Māhishmatī and others in the list of important town of his time (second century B.C.).[3] Of these, coins bearing the names of Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, Madhyamikā (the Śibi-janapada coins), Ujjayinī and Māhishmatī are known, while Sāketa (as well as Ayodhyā) has also produced distinctive uninscribed local coinages. Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Mathurā and Ahichchhatra became the seats of local dynasties and issued coins bearing names of their respective local rulers.

It appears that with the collapse of the imperial authority of the Mauryan in Northern India the main land-route through Bactria in the north-west passed into the hands of the foreigners, *viz.* the Greeks, and trade was localised within limited areas in India. Sea-borne trade, however, continued through Ujjayinī, the great emporium of the period.[4] And, with the disappearance of a central minting authority, the regional authorities and the main trade centres took upon themselves the initiative of striking their own coinages for purposes of local transactions. Taxila, which was

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1. *PMC*, p. 26 and note 1, Pl. III. 131.

2. *BMC (AI)*, pp. xcii, 145, Pl. XIX. 14-19 (*Kāḍasa*); *ibid.*, pp. cxlvi, 264, Pl. XXXIX. 1-4 (*Vaṭasvaka*); *ibid.*, pp. cxlv, 263, Pl. XXXV. 18 (*Upagodasa*); *ibid.*, pp. cxlvi, 263, Pl. XXXV. 19 (*Upātikyā*), and *JNSI*, IV, p. 21 (*Madavika*). Two coins poblished by Altekar (*ibid*), XIV, pp. 5. ff.) are said to bear the legend, *Jyeshthapura* and supposed to be the coins of a city of that name, identified as Jetuttara, the capital of the Śibis, according to the *Vessantara Jataka*. But since the coin is of a very late date (about fifth century A. D.), it can not be included within the scope of our study.

3. Cf. *JBBRAS*, XXVII, pp. 38 ff.

4. Cf. *CHI*. pp. 516-517.

situated on the main land-route through the north-west, had great commercial importance and hence we find an extensive series, of uninscribed as well as inscribed local coins there, issued probably by different trade-guilds. It is significant that most of the cities that issued coins during the early post Maurya period were situated in the belt of land between the Ganges-Jumna and the Narmada valley. And, as known from literary sources, the cities of Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī and Erakiṇa lay in the route which connected Ujjayinī with Pāṭaliputra, while another route from Pratishṭhāna to Vaiśālī went through the cities of Māhishmatī, Gonarda, Ujjayinī, Vediśā, Kauśāmbī, Sāketa, Śrāvastī and others.[1] There was another ancient southern caravan route, almost corresponding to the present-day Chalisgaon-Aurangabad-Paithan road, which passed from the Nasik region, through Pratishthāna upto the ancient city of Tagara.[2] The busy trade that passed through these ancient cities naturally necessitated the issuing of monetary tokens as mediums of exchange and thus led to the prosperity and some amount of autonomy for the cities. The Śuṅgas, the successors of the Mauryas, are not so far known to have struck any coins in their own names and do not seem to have interfered with the issue of local coinages.

The city issues so far known are made of copper or some alloy of it. Both round and square-shaped coins are known. While coins of the cities of Vārāṇasī, Bhāgila and Kurara, and some of the city issues of Kauśāmbī, Erakiṇa and Taxilā are square or rectangular, others are round in shape.

Most of the city issues are die-struck ; only the earlier uninscribed pieces of Ayodhyā, the city coins of Kauśāmbī, and a few of the city issues of Erakiṇa and Taxilā are cast. Die-striking does not, however, indicate that the method was borrowed from the Indo-Greeks, as supposed by some scholars.[3] For, as already shown, some of the die-struck inscribed pieces of Taxila were copied by the Indo-Greeks and hence they were earlier than the Indo-Greek coins. Moreover, as pointed out earlier, the die-struck Eran coin with the legend *Dhamapālasa*, which is regarded as the earliest inscribed coin of India, almost certainly antedated the issues of the Indo-Greeks.

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1. See *Pārāyaṇa* of the *Suttanipāta*, vv. 1011-13, in D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 1st Ed. (*SGAMI*), p. 106.
2. Cf. *Ancient India*, No 15, p, 66.
3. Cf. S.K. Chakrabortty, *SAIN*, pp. 123-126.

It thus shows that the Indians knew the method of die striking even before the advent of the Indo-Greeks.

Motifs on the city coins consists of some broad device like the figure of an animal or a deity or a group of symbols, along with one or more minute symbols—all struck from one single die or cast from moulds. The metrology of these coins is very difficult to determine. For, they do not usually follow any uniform standard.[1] The identification of the weight standard or standards for the city issues requires a thorough examination and a comparative study of the weights of all the local and Tribal coins of the period.

The following are the known city issues :

1. *Vārāṇasī*

Vārāṇasī, one of India's most celebrated cities, was the well-known capital of the *Mahājanapada* of Kāśī in the days of the Buddha.[2] Patañjali refers to Kāśī and Vārāṇasī separately,[3] which may indicate that both existed as adjoining cities like modern-day Kāśī and Vārāṇasī. The discovery of a sealing with the legend *Vārāṇasy-adhishṭhān-adhikaraṇasya* in the Gupta characters during the excavations at Rajghat in 1940[4] proves that the ancient site of Vāsāṇasī is marked by Rajghat to the north-eastern outskirts of the modern city of Vārāṇasī. The discovery of two coins with the legend *Bārānasi* from ruins of Rajghat[5] further corroborates it.

Both the coins are rectangular in shape and bear the same devices. The obverse shows the figure of a horse to left, while the reverse has traces of the so-called Ujjain symbol. The legend *Bārānasi* in characters of about the first century B. C. appears on the reverse, above the device. The second coin is said to bear on the obverse, above the horse, the additional letters...*tasa*, which may be fragments of the name of the issuer. We get names like Revatimita, Pusamita, Agamita or Harisena from seals discovered from further

1. For irregularities in the weight-standard of ancient copper coins see A. N. Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 3-4 and 24.
2. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India (BI)*, p. 25; and H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. India*, 6th Ed. (*PHAI*), p. 96,
3. Cf. *JBBRAS*, XXVII, p. 39 (Kāśī) and p. 41 (Vārāṇasī).
4. *Indian Archaeology, A Review* (*IAR*) 1957-58, p. 50. The city derived its name from its situation between the rivers Varuṇā and Asi (*BI*, p. 25)
5. *JNSI*, XII, pp. 134-135, Pl. XI. 5-6. The Plates are, however, so indistinct that the devices and legends are not so clear.

excavations at Rajghat in 1957-58 and 1960-61.[1] These names may refer to the officers in charge of the city administration, and if the legend on the above-mentioned coin contains any name at all, it may indicate that such officers were also empowered to issue coins in their names. Rajghat as well as nearby Sarnath has also yield a particular type of uninscribed cast copper coins,[2] which might have been the local issues of Vārāṇasī prior to the inscribed ones.

2. *Kauśāṁbī*

Kauśāmbī was the capital of Vatsa, one of the most important *Mhājanapadas* during the time of the Buddha.[3] Cunningham's identification of this ancient city with modern Kosam near Allahabad[4] has since been confirmed by the discovery of some coins with the legend *Kosaṁbi* from this site. That it was a great trade centre is not only known from literature but also indicated by the variety and number of coins attributed to this locality.

The abundant local coinage of Kauśāmbī may be classified into several groups, of which the uninscribed cast pieces are the earliest.[5] Of the inscribed issues also, there are some cast coins which are earlier in date than the struck inscribed ones.[6] The city coins are among the cast inscribed pieces. There are several types of these coins. Those of Type I bear on the obverse the figure of an elephant to the left standing on a pedestal, a triangle-headed standard in front, a six-armed whorl behind, wavy line below, and Ujjain symbol and the legend *K [o] sa [ṁ] bi* above. The reverse is composed of several symbols viz. tree-in-railing, Ujjain symbol, six-peaked hill, tank with four fishes and *Nandipada*.[7] The fabric and symbols of these

1. *IAR*, 1957-58, p. 50; and *ibid.*, 1960-61, p. 35.
2. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 110-11 and *BMC (AI)*, pp. lxxvii, 88, *var.* (i), Pl. XI. 8.
3. Cf. *PHAI*, pp. 131 ff.
4. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Ed. S. N. Majumdar Sastri, 1924, p. 709: also Allan, BMC (*AI*). p. xciv, and note.
5. Cf. *ibid*, p, xciv.
6. *Ibid* p. xcvi.
7. Four coins of this type are so far known : (1) *Arch. sury. Rep..* 1924-25 p. 131. Pl XXXVIII. d 3 (lent to the Indian Museum), (2) *BMC* (*AI*) pp. xcviii-ix, Fig., (3) the Sri Srinath Collection, Banaras, (unpublished, cf. *JNSI*, XI, 10), and (4) *ibid.* XI, p. 9. Pl. III. 1 (in the State Museum, Lucknow).

coins connect them with the early uninscribed cast coins on the one hand and the cast inscribed pieces of Sudeva and Bahsatimita on the other;[1] and therefore they may be placed midway between the two two classes. A variety of the coins of this type in the Allahabad Museum bears only the legend *Kosambi* in the centre and Ujjain symbol on obverse, while the reverse is blurred.[2]

A specimen of type II of the city issues is rectangular in shape and shows the figure of a bull to left, facing a standard on the obverse, and a circle in the middle with the surrounding legend *Kosambiya* on the reverse.[3] It may be noticed that the name of the city is written here in a different form.

The coin of Type III is round and bears the legend *Kasabikanam* in bold Brāhmī letters around the face on the obverse, and a circle with a dot in the centre surmounted by a crescent on the reverse.[4] The legend apparently refers to the people of Kauśāmbī and is rather novel in this respect.

Besides the coins bearing the name of the city itself, there are some other coins with the legend *Nagama* or *Gadhikana*, probably issued by different trade-guilds of Kauśāmbī and are comparable to the Negamā coins of Taxila. The three known *Negamā* coins of Kauśāmbī are of three varieties according to the reverse devices. The obverse of all the three varities of coins shows the lower portion of a railing and a three-peaked hill above, and the legend *Nagama* below. The coin of Variety A has *svastika* on the reverse and is rectangular in shape.[5] The reverse of the specimen of Variety B depicts a seven-spoked wheel inside a circle of dots and is round,[6] while that of Variety C bears a *triratna* (*nandipada* ?) and is square.[7]

A round coin bears the circular legend *Gadhikanam* in bold Brāhmī characters of about the third-second century B. C. on

1. Cf. *BMC* (*AI*), p. xcix.
2. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 139, Pl, II. 9 (from Kauśāmbī).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 140, Pl. II. 10 (the bull is standing to the left as seen in the plate, and not to right as described in the Journal).
4. *Ibid.*; XXV, p. 20, Pl. I. 2 (originally belonged to Sri Janeshwar Das of Allahabad—now in the State Museum, Lucknow).
5. *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 23, Pl. II. 7.
6. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 209, Pl. VI. 8.
7. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI. 9.

the obverse, and a square with four compartments on the reverse, and was probably issued by the Gandhikas or the 'Guild of dealers in perfume' of the city of Kauśāmbī,[1] and is in the nature of guild-tokens.

The flourishing condition of the city of Kauśāmbī from the sixth century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. is proved by archaeological excavations at Kosam since 1951-52.[2] In the Kauśāmbī excavations, the early uninscribed cast coins are found in layers datable to about the fourth to the second centuries B.C., while the local Mitra coins come from later strata dated about the second to about the first centuries B.C.[3] And since the city coins are later than the cast uninscribed pieces, but earlier than the struck Mitra coins, they may be dated about the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C.

3. *Vidiśā*

The ancient city of Vidiśā is identified with modern Besnagar near Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh. It was the capital of Ākara or Eastern Malwa.[4] The Śuṅga period witnessed the height of its glory and it was during the time of King Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā that Antialcidas, the Greek king of Taxila, sent an ambassador named Heliodorus to the court of Vidiśā. The Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription of Heliodorus[5] also indicates the cultural importance of Vidiśā. It shows that Vidisā became an early centre of Bhagavatism in the second century B.C. Vidiśā was also noted for its ivory-workers.[6]

The commercial importance of Vidiśā is proved by the discovery of some coins with the name of the city. The coins are in the cabinet of Mohant Ghasidas Memorial Museum of Raipur and purchased from a coin-collector of Vidiśā.[7] They are not illustrated, but described as bearing on the obverse the figure of an eight-spoked wheel, as seen on the Nāga coins, and on the reverse the legend

1. *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 19, Pl. 1. 1; also *ibid.*, XXVII, p. 84; and *ibid*, XXVIII, pp. 45 and 153.
2. See G.R. Sharma, *The Excavations at Kauśāmbī*, (*EK*), 1957-59, Allahabad, 1960; also *IAR*, 1952-53 to 1960-61.
3. *EK*, pp, 19, 80-85,
4. Cf, *SGAMI*, p. 34, note 2 and p. 91.
5. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions (SI)*, Ist Ed., p. 90.
6. Cf. *PHAI*, p, 397.
7. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 307.

Veḍisa or *Veddasa* in Brāhmī characters of the early second century B.C. If the reading is correct, the name apparently refers to the city of Vidiśā. The form of the name of the city is given as 'Vaidisa', as it also occurs in the Sāñchī[1] and other inscriptions and in the *Mālavikāgnimitra.*[2]

Two other wheel-type coins with the legend Vedisa are reported to have been unearthed from the Besnagar excavations of 1963-64.[3] They corroborate the identification of ancient Vidisā with modern Besnagar. These coins were found in association with punch-marked coins and may therefore be dated about the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B. C.

4. *Erakiṇa*

Erakiṇa or Airikiṇa is identified with modern Eran on the right bank of the Bina river in the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh.[4] It formed an important *Vishaya* or *Pradeśa* of the Gupta empire and is mentioned in its old form in the Sāñchī inscriptions[5] and in those of Samudragupta and Toramāṇa,[6] discovered from that place. Some coins with the legend *Erakanya*, reported to have been dug up from the recent excavations at Eran, further confirm the identification of Erakiṇa with modern Eran.

The commercial importance of Erakiṇa is evident from the number and variety of coins discovered from that area. A series of fine punch-marked copper coins, and a number of cast as well as die-struck coins with distinctive symbols are ascribed to Eran.[7] The earliest inscribed coin with the legend *Dhamapālasa* written in the negative way also comes from that place.[8]

Three coins bearing the name of the city are so far published. The three coins are of three different types. Of them two were in the Cunningham collection and one in the White King collection. The two coins of the Cunningham collection are die-struck and

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1. *EI*, II, p, 102.
2. Cf. the expression *Vaidiśastham putram*...in Act V, 15 of the *Mālavikāgnimitra.*
3. *IAR*, 1963-64, pp, 16-17; and *SPLCNI*, p. 159,
4. Cf Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India* (*CAI*), p. 99.
5. *Monuments of Sāñchī*, (*MS*), I, p. 314, No. 145.
6. *SI*, p. 262 (of Samudragupta), and p. 396 (of Toramāṇa).
7. Cf. *CAI.* p, 99; *Indian Coins*, p, 11; and *BMC*(*AI*), pp. xc ff, and 140 ff.
8. Cf. note 4 above.

square in shape. The first coin bears on the obverse the device of 'an arch-way with crescent above, between two crosses; above, the inscription *Erakanya*'. The reverse has 'Ujjain symbol, tree-in-railing with river above.[1] The second coin depicts the figure of a 'bull to right with wheel below and inscription *Erakanya*' on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse.[2] The third coin is cast and round. It bears the figure of 'a horse to left, Ujjain symbol on the obverse and between two trees in railings, the inscription reading verically upwards *Erak*'–.[3]

The other coins coming from Eran excavations are not illustrated but they are said to include the symbols of a semicircular design, a crescent, *Svastika*, tree-in-railing, *Dharma-chakra*, bull and the Ujjain symbol.[4] They were found along with a number of punch-marked and other inscribed coins and a seal with the legend *Raño Idagutasa* in characters of about the third or second century B.C. The*Erakaṇya* coins may therefore be dated about the beginning of the second century B.C.

5–6. *Bhāgila and Kurara*

Some coins with the legends *Bhāgilāya* and *Kurarāya* are attributed to two cities with the names of Bhāgila and Kurara.[5] The name Bhāgila is not knom from any other source, but Kurara is mentioned as a place name in a number of Sāñchī inscriptions.[6] Thus Bhāgila may also denote a Place-name. And since the coins bearing these names are found from the same area on the banks of the river Narmadā in the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh, both Bhāgila and Kurara, if they denote cities, may be located near about Sāñchī, close to each other. The square shape of the *Bhāgilaya* coins, as well as the symbol of a river with various other symbos which have close similarity with those found on coins coming from Eran-Besnagar area,[7] also suggests a location for these cities in the Eastern Malwa region.

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1. Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. xci (Cunningham collection).
2. *Ibid.*, p. xcii (Cunningham collection),
3. *Ibid.*, p. xcii (White King Collection, *JRAS*, 1900, p. 108. Pl. 7.
4. *IAR*, 1960-61, p. 17; and *SPLNI*, p. 158.
5. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 9 ff.
6. *MS*. I, pp. 313 ff.
7. *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, 1912-14, pp. 221, 224, Pl. XLV; also *JNSI*, XIV, p. 11.

The *Bhāgilāye* coins are square, die-struck and of two varieties. Specimens of Variety A are single die ones, while the one of Variety B is a double-die piece. The obverse of the coins of Variety A shows a river with fishes, tortoise, taurine and *svastika* below, a tree-in-railing on right with a lotus above it, a prancing bull in high relief on left, and the legend at the top left side in early Brāhmī characters *Bhāgilāya*[1]. Of the five coins found, four are of this type. The fifth one is of Variety B and has on the obverse the same symbols as seen on specimens of Variety A, but arranged in a different order.[2] The reverse is indistinct and shows faint traces of a wavy line, lotus flower and tree. The epigraphy of the coin-legends indicate a date about the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B. C. for the coins.[3] The single-die pieces of variety A seem to be earlier than the double-die specimen of Variety B. The *Kurarāya* coins are neither described nor illustrated.[4]

7. *Ujjayinī*

Ujjayinī was one of the most famous cities of ancient India and was the capital of the ancient *Mahājanapada* of Avanti[5] modern Western Malwa. It is identified with modern Ujjain, situated on the Śiprā river, to the (south of Indore and) west of Bhilsa. It was one of the viceregal seats of Aśoka and is mentioned by Patañjali and in the Sāñchī inscriptions[6] It is referred to as Ozene by the *Periplus* as well as by Ptolemy.[7] As already noted, it was a great centre of commerce, through which passed trade with the West as well as between the northern and southern countries of India.[8] Its commercial importance is amply proved by the great number and variety of coins attributed to this place.[9]

1. *Ibid*, XIV, pp. 9-10, Pl. II. 13-16.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11, Pl. II. 17.
3. S. L. Katare, assigns them to the last quarter of the third century B.C., *ibid.*, p. 12.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
5. Cf. *BI*, p. 2. and *PHAI*, p. 204.
6. Cf. Kalinga Edict I of Aśoka, *JBBRAS*, XXVII, p. 188 (on Pāṇini, III, i, 26, Var. 10), and *MS*, I, pp. 303 ff.
7. Schoff's translation of the *Pariplus*, p. 42; and R.C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, p. 373 (Ptolemy).
8. Cf. note 16 above.
9. *BMC(AI)*, pp. cxli ff., 241 ff.

Most of the coins of Ujjayinī are uninscribed and closely linked up with those of Eran, with difference that while Eran coins are generally square in shape, the Ujjayinī coins are usually round. Inspite of the interrelation of symbols, the coins of Ujjayinī are distinct from those of Eran. The inscribed coins of Ujjayinī, bearing the name of the city are comparatively very few in number and are die-struck. The obverse of these coins shows the figure of an elephant to right and on the reverse an eight-armed symbol and a hand above the legend *Ujeni* written in characters of about the first half of the second century B. C.[1]

Some coins of the same type with the legend *Ujeni* have come to light from recent excavations at Ujjayinī,[2] which support the identification of the site with ancient Ujjayinī. The stratigraphical evidence shows that the uninscribed and inscribed coins of Ujjayinī were more or less contemporary issues and that the city coins may be dated about the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B. C.[3] The excavations at Ujjayinī also bear testimony to the flourishing condition of the city from the sixth century B. C. upto as late as the Muslim conquest of Malwa. The discovery of a terracotta coin-mould of the Roman emperor Hadrianus and the ruins of a manufactory of beads along with some unfinished precious beads[4] confirms the statement of the *Periplus* that Ozene was a great emporium from which place semi-precious stones were exported to the west, via Broach on the Narmada estuary.[5]

8. *Tripurī*

The ancient city of Tripurī is identified with Tewar situated a few miles away from the banks of the Narmadā, eight miles from

1. *Ibid.*, p. 262, Pl. XXXVII, 14-16. Coin Pl. XXXVII. 16 shows iraces of a border of taurines below the legend. which is clear on a coin in the collection of Sri R. K. Sethi of Indore.
2. For Ujjain excavations see *IAR*, 1956-57, pp. 32 ff. and *ibid.*, 1957-58, pp. 32 ff. Three coins are reported to have been discovered: cf. *SPLNCI*, p. 159.
3. The city coins are found from the mid-level of Period II of Ujjain excavations (c. 500 to 200 B.C.) (*SPLCNI.* p. 159), while uninscribed Ujjain coins are reported to have been unearthed in layers of Period IV of Navdatoli (400 to 109 B.C.) and Period V of Maheswar (100 B.C. 100 A.D.) cxcavations: cf. *SPLCNI*, pp. 89-90.
4. The present author who was herself connected with the Ujjain excavations in 1958 found these objects dug up.
5. Schoff's tran. of the *Periplus*, p. 42.

Jabalpur on the road to Bheraghat.[1] The Puranic tradition ascribes its foundation to three *asuras* known as Tripurāsura, who built three strong forts (*tri-pura*) here, after which the city was called Tripurī.[2] It was the capital of the Kalachuris in the early medieval period.

Some coins bearing the legend *Tripurī* in early Brāhmī characters are ascribed to this city. "They are not cast, but struck with that seal-like effect, as if the die had been impressed on hot metal, which is characteristic of the earliest Indian copper coins."[3] They are single-die coins and bear on the obverse the symbols of a hollow cross above crescent-topped three-peaked hill on right and the legend *Tipuri* on left, written from the bottom upwards.[4]

The Tripuri coins are procured not only from the site of the city itself, but also from the Hoshangabad District.[5] The recent excavations at Tripurī have yielded a coin with the legend *Tripuri* along with other inscribed punch-marked and cast copper coins.[6] This testifies to the identification of Tewar with Tripurī. The city coin came from the deposits of a period dated about the third century B. C. The characters of the coin-legend, the seal-like impression and the fact that these are single-die pieces also support this

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1. *BMC(AI)*, p. cxli.
2. Cf, *JNSI.* XVI, p. 55. The Traipuras, i.e. the people of Tripuri are mentioned in the Puranic list of peoples: cf. *SGAMI.* p. 34 and note 5.
3. *BMC(AI)*, p. cxl.
4. *Ibid.*. p. 239, Nos. 1-3, Pl, XXXV. 14-15.
5. Of the three BM coins, two were from the Bhagawanlal Indraji (collection (*JRAS*, 1894, p. 554, Pl. 15, and *BMC(AI)*, p. 239. Pl. XXXV, 14-15) and are supposd to have come from Western India (cf. Allan, *BMC(AI)* p. cxli). Ajaya Mitra Shastri, however, suggests (*JNSI.* XXXIV, Part II, pp, 216-17) that since a number of Bodhi coins and seals are found at Tripurī, the Bodhi as well as the Tripurī coins of the Indraji collection (whose provenance is not known) also probably hailed from Tripurī itself and not from any place in Western India as commonly supposed.

   One bronze coins from Hoshangabad District was published by S, L. Katare in *JNSI,* XIII, pp. 40 ff, Two other coins in the collection of a goldsmith came from the site of the city itself (cf ibid., XVI, p. 55).
6. Cf. *JNSI,* XVI, p. 68 and note 5 and *SPLCNI,* p. 157.

early date for the city coins.[1] Other coins of the Andhras, the Kushāṇas, the Western Satraps, etc. unearthed from this site reveal the continuity of the history of the city during different periods[2].

9. *Māhishmatī*

Māhishmatī was a town of great antiquity. In the earliest times it was the capital of a powerful kingdom which included the country of Anūpa, to the west of Daśārṇa and Mālava.[3] Later on it came under Avanti and was the capital of southern Avanti.[4] The *Harivaṁśa* attributes the foundation of the city to Māhishmat, a descendant of Haihaya, who belonged to the Yadu family.[5] Patañjali's reference to Māhishmatī shows that it was in a flourishing condition in the second century B. C.[6] The importance of the city lay in the fact that the lines of communication between Pratishṭhāna and Ujjayinī passed through this city, as known from the *Suttanipāta*.[7]

The identification of the city was for a long time a controversial issue. Some scholars identified it with Māndhātā,[8] while others located it at Maheswar,[9] both on the Narmadā in the Nimar District of Madhya Pradesh. It is mentioned in several inscriptions, viz. the Sāñchī inscriptions[10], Barwani copperplate grant of Year 167, [11] the Māndhāta plates of the Paramāra king

1. Allan dates these coins about late 3rd century or early 2nd century B. C. (*BMC, AI*), p. cxl), while S. L. Katare (*JNSI*, XIII, p. 41) and M.G. Dikshit (*ibid.*, XVI, p. 69) assign them to the latter half of the 3rd century B.C.
2. Cf. *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 56 and 65 ff.
3. Cf. *JRAS*, 1900, p. 867; and *CII*, IV, p. 17.
4. Cf. *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 447 and 867; also *PHAI*, pp. 144-45.
5. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 145, note 6.
6. On Pāṇini, III, I, 26. Var. 10.
7. The *Pārāyaṇa* of the *Suttanipāta*, v. 1011 cf. *SGAMI*, p. 206.
8. Pargiter, *Mārk. Purāṇa*, Introduction, p. ix and p. 333 note, also *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 868-69; Fleet, *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 445 ff.; and Mirashi, *CII*, IV, p. 17.
9. Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, IX, p. 105; Kielhorn, *EI*, IX, pp. 103 ff.
10. *MS*, I, pp. 321 ff.
11. R. R. Haldar, *EI*, XIX, pp. 261 ff: V. V. Mirashi, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XXI, pp. 79 ff. and *CII*, IV, pp. 17-18.

    R. R. Haldar refers the year to the Gupta era, but Mirashi points out that if Subandhu of the inscriptions was a vassal of the Gupta king Budhagupta, as supposed by Haldar, then he should have mentioned his Gupta overlord in the copper-plate grant. Mirashi refers the inscription to the Kalachuri era.

Devapāla of V. S. 1282,[1] and in an inscription of V. S. 1856 found in the wall of a building above the Ahalya Bai Ghat at Maheswar.[2] These inscriptions do not help us much in solving the question of the identification of Māhishmatī. However, the discovery of an unpublished inscription of V. S. 1622 (=A.D. 1566) during the exploration conducted by the Deccan College Research Institute in 1950 at Maheswar[3] seems to have settled the question to some extent. Of the two inscriptions discovered, the one found in the Temple of Jaleshwara Mahādeva at Māheswar refers to the reign of Akbar, and his officer is stated to have been residing in the town of Māhishmatī, situated in the Mālava deśa, presumably signifying thereby Maheswar itself. Thus, Maheswar, not Māndhātā, appears to represent the site of the ancient city of Māhishmatī.

Five coins bearing the name of the city have so far come to light. Of them, four are of the same type, while the fifth coin seems to exhibit a different type. All the five coins are, however rectangular in shape and die-struck. The four specimens of Type I seem to have been struck on one side only with a seal-like impression of the obverse. They show a male figure with halo behind head, left hand outstretched and right hand downwards, holding uncertain objects in both hands; on right a pellet surrounded by four crescents and surmounted by a three-peaked hill (?); legend below in large Brāhmī characters, *Mahisati*.[4] The fifth coin which is of Type II appears to be a double-die piece and has on its obverse a tree-in-railing, horse, river with fishes, Ujjain symbol, and the legend, *Ma [ha] sata*. The reverse shows some indistinct symbols, including probably the Ujjain symbol.[5]

Recent archaeological excavations conducted by the Deccan College P.G. Research Institute, Poona, in collaboration with the

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1. *EI*, IX, pp. 103 ff.
2. *IA*, IV, p. 347.
3. M.G. Dikshit, *Potdar Felicitation Volume*, pp. 317-322.
4. Coins : (1-2) *BMC(AI)*, p. 279, No. 3 Pl. XLV. 11 and No. 4 (Allan reads the legend as *Mahāsenasa*); (3) *JNSI*, XIII, p. 74, No. 1 Pl. V. 6 (from Ujjain). These three coins were identified as the city coins of Māhishmatī in *JNSI*, XV, pp. 70 ff. Coin : (4) *JNSI*, XVII, Pt. II, p, 94, Pl. VIII. 5 (enlarged size, Pl. VIII. 6), collected by Wakankar from the surface of Mound I at Maheswar.
5. Cf. *SPLCNI*, pp. 157-58 (also a surface find from Mound V of Māheswar, collected by Wakankar).

7175B

University of Baroda at Maheswar and Navda Toli on both banks of the Narmadā, have revealed the great antiquity of the sites.[1] None of the above-mentioned city coins of Māhishmatī has come in course of actual digging, though two of them are known from surface finds.[2] A rectangular die-struck coin of plain reverse and bearing on the obverse similar symbols as those seen on the Māhishmatī coins of Type I was, however, discovered in the Navda Toli excavations.[3] Unfortunately, the coin is broken at the bottom, so that we do not know if it bore the name of the city. But since the symbols on it are similar to those appearing on the city coins of Māhishmati, it may actually provide the sixth specimen of such coins. If so, this coin, found in a stratified condition, would furnish us with a strong ground for identifying Māhishmatī with Maheswar-Navda Toli. The stratigraphy of the coin indicates a date about the third or second century B.C., which also seems to be the date of the inscribed city issues.

10. Tagara

A coin published by Mirashi and Deshpande was attributed to the Rājanya *Gaṇa*.[4] C. Gupta suggested the legend *Tagara*, in place of *Rājanya*, and took it to be the coin of the ancient city of Tagara or Tagarapura, identified by him with modern Ter in the Osmanabad District of Maharashtra.[5] Excavations at Ter have also revealed the antiquity of the site.[6] But, as it appears from the illustration of the coin, the reading of Gupta is not also beyond doubt.[7] We are not, therefore, sure if the coin actually represents the city issue of Tagara, so long as clearer specimens bearing the name of the city do not come to light.

11. Taxila

The celebrated city of Taxila was the capital of Eastern Gāndhāra, one of the Sixteen *Mahājanapadas* of the time of the Buddha. It is identified with modern Shah Dheri, 20 miles north-west of Rawalpindi and is represented by the three main sites of Bhir

1. *IAR*, 1953-54, p. 8; *ibid.*, 1957-58, pp. 30 ff.; and *ibid*, 1958-59, pp. 28ff.
2. Cf. *SPLNCI*, pp. 157-58.
3. *JNSI*, XVII, Pt. II, p. 95, Pl. VIII. 7 (enlarged).
4. *JNSI*, XXXI, pp. 177ff., Pl. II. 3.
5. *Ibid.*, XXXIII. Pt. II, pp. 37 ff.
6. *IAR*. 1957-58, pp. 23 ff.; and *ibid.*, 1967-68, pp. 35 ff.
7. Cf. also Ajay Mitra Shastri (*JNSI*, XXXIV. pp. 238-40), who adds a note on the form *Tagare*.

Mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh,[1] where large-scale excavations have revealed three stages in the history of the city.[2] Although numerous coins, inscribed as well as uninscribed, have been unearthed from these sites, none of them bear the name of the city as such. But legends on the inscribed pieces are supposed to refer to the names of different city-guilds who seem to have issued coins with some sort of co-ordination from a central authority stationed at Taxila.[3]

Inspite of the great variety of types and legends, the coinage of Taxila forms a homogenous group, distinct from those of other cities.[4] The local coinage of Taxila falls into two main series, uninscribed and inscribed. The uninscribed pieces form the majority of the local coins of Taxila and are die–struck. The inscribed issues may be divided into three classes according to their legends:[5]

(1) The Negamā Series,

(2) The *Paṁchanekame* Series, and

(3) The *Hirañasame* Series.

Coins of Class I (the *Negamā* series) are oblong die-struck pieces having an incuse, characteristic of the early struck coins of India.[6] They have five varieties of legends. *Var. a* has the legend, *Negamā* on the obverse and *Rālimasa* on the reverse, both written in Brāhmī characters.[7] *Var. b* has *Negamā* in Brāhmī on the obverse and *Dojaka*, either in Brāhmī[8] or variantly in Kharoshṭhī[9] on the reverse. The Kharoshṭhī version moreover shows a horizontal stroke over *ga* of *Negamā* on the obverse and a steel-yard below the legend on the reverse. *Var c.* bears the legend *Negamā* on the obverse and *Atakatakā* on the reverse, both in Brāhmī.[10] *Var. d* has a shorter steelyard over the Brāhmī legend *Negamā* on the obverse, while the reverse legend is illegible and seems to include *-ra-ma-*.[11] Besides, coins of this variety are squarish and dumpy and are distinct from

1. Cf. Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 60; also *BMC(AI)*, p. cxxv.
2. Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 Vols.
3. Cf. *BMC(AI)*, p. cxxxix.
4. *Ibid.*, p. cxxxix.
5. *Ibid.*, p. cxxvi.
6. *Ibid*,
7. *Ibid.*. pp. cxxvi, 214, Pl. XXVI. 1.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 215, Pl. XXXI, 5-6.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 214, Pl. XXXI. 2-4 (*Vars.* b and c of Allan).
10. *Ibid.*, p. 215, Pl. XXXI- 7-8 (*Var.* d. of Allan).
11. *Ibid.*, pp, cxxvi, 215, Pl. XXXI. 10 (*Var.* e of Allan)

others. *Var. e* appears to read *Kadare-nekame* in Kharoshṭhī on the obverse and an indistinct female figure represented like Lakshmī on the reverse,[1] as seen on some coins of the Indo-Greek princes Pantaleon and Agathocles.[2] She has been identified as the city-divinity of Taxila.[3] The coins of Class I are comparatively rare and have been dated about the first quarter of the second century B.C.[4]

Coins of Class II are square and cast and are quite different in fabric.[5] They are more common than those of Class I. They show on the obverse a sixteen-spoked wheel with a minute three-peaked hill above, and on the reverse a *svastika* between two *nandi-padas* above the Kharoshṭhī legend, *Paṁchanekame*.[6] They seem to represent the joint issue of five *Naigamas* or guilds, and it is tempting to identify these five *naigamas* with those named in five varieties of coins of Class I.[7]

Coins of Class III are square and die struck. They have two varieties of Kharoshṭhi legends, although the types are the same. They bear on the obverse the figure of an elephant facing, palm-tree on right and a three-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent above a hollow cross on left. The reverse shows a horse to left with a small three-peaked hill with crescent above on right and a six peaked hill in front of the horse on left; Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse above, (a) *Hirañasame*,[8] or (b) *Dośana*, *Dośadasa*, or *Dośanasa*.[9] A subvariety of the *Hirañasame* coins has a conventional plant and the legend below on the obverse, and a star over six-peaked hill on the reverse.[10] This type seems to have been copied by Agathocles who substituted the plant by a tree-in-railing, retaining the legend *Hirañasame* on the obverse, and put his name in Kharoshṭhī below the star over hill on the reverse.[11]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. cxxvii,212, Pl.XXXI. 9 (*Var.* f of Allan),
2. Cf. *PMC*, p. 16, Pl. II, 35 (Pantaleon), and *ibid.*, p. 17, Pl. II. 45 (Agathocles).
3. *BMC(AI)*, p. cxxvii.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. cxxviii.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 216-18, Pl. XXX, 11-16.
7. Cf. *Ibid.*. p. cxxviii.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. cxxx-cxxxii; 218, Pl. XXXIV. 6-7.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. cxxxii-cxxxiii, 219, Pl. XXXIV. 4-5.
10. *PMC*, p. 18, Pl. II. 51.
11. *Ibid.*, Pl. II. 52,

The word *Negamā* (Sanskrit, *Naigamaḥ*) signifies trade-guild and the *Negamā* coins seem to be mercantile money-tokens issued by the trade-guilds of the Taxila region.[1] The various reverse legends in the nominative suggest a comparison with those bearing names of cities and may refer to different market quarters having different names, in the city of Taxila. *Hirañasame* (Sanskrit, *Hiraṇyāśrama*) and *Dośana* might also have been different market districts in the Taxila region.

The Taxila coins were found in course of the excavations of Taxila along with those of the foreign rulers[2], which help us to determine the date of the Taxila issues. It appears from the stratigraphy of the Bhir Mound that the local coins of Taxila started from the period of the Maurya governors, about the end of the third century B.C.,[3] While the finds from Sirkap, which came into existence only after the Greek conquest, show that they continued for some time after the Greeks possibly also after the Śakas.[4] Thus although Taxila came successively under the foreign rulers, viz. the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushāṇas after the downfall of the Mauryas, the local coinage of Taxila does not seem to have stopped before its conquest by the Kushāṇas and indicates a period of autonomy for the city guilds.

1. Cf. *BMC (AI)*, p. cxxvi.
2. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, pp. 756 ff.
3. Cf. *BMC (AI)*, p. cxxxix.
4. *Taxila*, II, pp. 756-57.

TWO INTERESTING COINS IN THE SINGHI COLLECTION

Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta

(Pl. I)

While examining the cabinet of the late Narendra Singh Singhi (alive at the time of examination) of Calcutta, I came across a copper coin bearing a legend in Brāhmī *Madavi*. Of diestruck variety, the coin is round in shape (20. 30 mm.) and weighs 122 grains (7. 50 grammes). It is described below.

Obverse : *Madavi* (*ka* ?)

Reverse : Hill surmounted by a tree symbol Solar symbol to right.

The findspot of this coin is unknown. While the hill symbol is commonly met with on early Indian coins, the tree symbol of the above type, rather infrequent, has similarity with the one depicted on a series of copper coins hailing from Ujjayini (Vars. f–g of Class 2 of Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum*, '*Ancient India*' henceforth *CCBM*, pp. 244, 248). The solar symbol has also variants on the Ujjayini coinage (Class I, Var. d, Class 2, Var a, *ibid* pp. 243, 245). The legend being written in post-Mauryan characters, the coin in question is datable to the second century B.C.

Another coin bearing a Brāhmī legend *Madavika* was brought to light by A. S. Altekar, who dubbed the characters of the legend Aśokan[1]. Like the previous one this coin also is struck on copper and is round in shape. Of die-struck variety, it weighs 92.6 grains. Belonging to the collection of the late Rai Bahadur B.M. Vyas of Allahabad, it has been described by Altekar as follows :

Obv. : Above, apparently very faint traces of a symbol obliterated. Below, the legend in Aśokan characters, *Madavika*.

Rev. : Tree within railing with five branches or leaves. The railing consists of four squares. To its left is a *va*-

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1. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 21-22

topped banner with three horizontal lines to its right. The staff of the banner has not come out on the coin. To the left of the tree, is a symbol like Brāhmī letter *ma*. Below, apparently is four-arched hill.

(Pl. I. 1)

As regards the legend, Altekar[1] points out that after the letter *vi*, there is remnant of a letter which looks like a *ka*. The shortness of the central bar of *ka* has been explained by him as due to 'the exigencies of space'.

The provenance of the second coin is also unknown. Symbols like the *ma*-shaped taurine, tree within railing and *va*-topped banner (described by us as *jayadhvaja* [2]) as on the present coin are also found on some early uninscribed coins from Eran and Ujjayinī.[3] Excepting the taurine, the other two symbols are seen on the coins of Brahmamitra and Sūryamitra of the Kanauj series as well.[4] The *jayadhvaja* symbol appears on some coins found at Taxila also, though in association with a different group of symbols.[5] The solar symbol and on the first piece reminiscent of similar symbols occurring on some Ujjayinī coins together with this *jayadhvaja* and taurine symbols on the second piece may tend to suggest some association of Madavi or Madavika with the Ujjayinī region. Altekar,[6] however, on typological and palaeographical considerations was inclined to believe that the coin of the Vyas collection (i. e. second one) 'was issued somewhere in Eran–Kauśāmbi–Kanauj area' round about 200 B. C.

As to the legend *Madavi* or *Madavika*, no definite explanation is possible at present, since it either as name of a person or a tribe or a people or a republic does not appear in any source whatsoever. Indeed, there is no definite proof to show whether *Madavi* or *Madavika*

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
2. *A Tribal History of Ancient India—A Numismatic Approach* (henceforth *THAI*), pp. 64, 79-80.
3. *CCBM*, pp. 140 ; 241, 243, 244, etc.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
5. *Ibid.*, p, 229,
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

is the name of a king or of a people or of a republic. Both these coins may, however, be tentatively ascribed to a people called Madavi or Madavika.[1]

The second coin of the Singhi collection, also of the die-struck variety, is round in shape and made of copper. Its provenance is, however, unknown. Following is its description.

Obv. : A four-pillared structure within railing. To left a Brāhmī legend *Pura-janapa* (*dasa*).

Rev. : Tree within railing. An undulating line below it.

Traces of a legend, only a letter *va* survives. **(Pl. I. 2)**

The most interesting feature of this coin lies in its obverse legend *Pura-janapadasa*, which signifies that this piece was issued by a *Pura-janapada* or an assembly consisting of the people of one or more than one *pura* (town) and one or more than one *janapada* (rural settlement). While the expression *Pura-janapada* or *Paura-jānapada* is by no means rare in ancient Indian inscriptions[2] and literature;[3] its precise significance is a matter of controversy. According to K. P. Jayaswal[4] the said expression, when especially used in the neuter singular as *Paura-jānapadam*, denotes a constitutional body consisting of the representatives of the capital and the country, and such a body in ancient India used to enjoy many constitutional privileges. The theory of Jayaswal was controverted by A. S. Altekar[5] who disbelieved in the existence of popular twin assemblies or two houses of a Parliament of the type of *Paura–jānapada*.

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1. Ajay Mitra Shastri considers *Madavika* as the name of a people and identifies them with the Māṇḍavyas mentioned in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (XIV. 2), *India as Seen in the Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, p. 89, fn. 1. He has not, however, given any evidence in support of his view.
2. As for example, the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela (*EI*, XX, pp. 72 f) states that the king conferred many *anugrahas* (favours) on the *Paura-Janapadas*. Rudradaman in his Junagadh inscription *ibid*, VIII, pp. 42 f) is found to have considered the restoration of the Sudaraśana lake an *anugraha* in favour of the *Paura-Janapadas* of his realm.
3. For these literary references, see Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, chs. XXVII-XXVIII and Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, pp. 146 f. According to Kauṭilya, *pauras* and *janapadas* had their bullions transformed into coins (or ornaments according to some scholars) at the royal mint (II. 14).
4. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 66 f.
5. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, pp. 146 f.

Altekar seems to have taken the term *Paura–jānapada* in the simple sense of 'citizens and villagers', without attributing any constitutional significance to it.[1]

Hence the unique importance of the coin under study. It buttresses the theory of Jayaswal and weakens that of Altekar. Though this specie does not prove by any means the prevalence of a bicameral type of central assembly in ancient India, it clearly shows that corporate bodies of *pura* (same as *paura*) and *janapada* did exist in those days.[2] These bodies either singly or jointly used to meet for discussing important matters concerning the administration. The nature of their composition,[3] functions and the extent of power enjoyed by them is not precisely known, but the evidence of the present coin coupled with that of inscriptions and literary texts shows the existence of corporate bodies styled *Pura* or *Paura* and *janapada* to be a historical fact. It is tempting to interpret the four pillared structure on the reverse of the specie as the type of the mote-hall where these bodies used to meet for deliberations of constitutional significance.

It may be mentioned in this connection that there are two similar pieces, in the collection of the British Museum ; they came most probably from the Hoshiarpur district, Punjab,[4] along with the coins of the well-known tribe called the Audumbaras. Hence Allan[5] attributed them to the said tribe. In my work[6] I have followed Allan, but I am now in doubt whether the British Museum pieces along with the present one of the Singhi collection of the unknown findspot, can be attributed to the Audumbaras. At least they do not bear any definite evidence of their connection with this

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1. *Ibid.*
2. The corporate character of the term is evident from a number of seals discovered from Nalanda and elsewhere. The term *grāma-janapada* borne by the Nalanda seals has been explained by Altekar as signifying a Pañchāyat, *op. cit.* p. 154. For these Nalanda seals, see *Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India*, 66, pp. 45–6.
3. According to R. S. Sharma, the *paura* and *janapada* were territorial orders of the Vaiśyas and perhaps of free Śūdras, not having any real voice in the affairs of the state but summoned by the king or his agents for the collection of taxes. *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1959), p. 193.
4. *CCBM*, p. lxxxvi.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxvi, 125, Pl. XV, 11-12. Of these pieces, coin no. 11 is better preserved.
6 *THAI*, p. 52., Pl. II, *CN*. 35.

tribe. All these three pieces also remind us of the so-called *negama*[1] coins of Taxila[2] and the present one bearing the clear legend may be described as the token of a certain *Pura-janapada*.[3] In any case, nothing more than what has been stated above can be said at present and we have to wait for more positive data. Meanwhile, fellow workers may think over the issue and express their views on this unique piece carrying the interesting legend *Pura-janapadasa*.

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1. These *negama* issues bear legends *negama* and *pañchanekame*. Another series found along with them carry the legend *hirañasame*, the meaning of which is not clear. According to Bühler, these *negama* pieces 'were mercantile money tokens issued by traders'. *Indian Studies*, III, p. 49.
2. Similar *negama* and guild tokens have also been reported from Kauśāmbī, see *JNSI*, XXV, pp. 17 f. More positive data are required for strengtheniag the suggestion made primarily on the basis of these pieces from Taxila and Kauśāmbī that in ancient India mercantile guilds had the power to issue coins (see *JNSI*, XXII, p. 42; XXV, pp. 17 f.); the differences in fabric between them and the remaining coin-series of the localities concerned are noteworthy in this connection.
3. On the analogy of the *negama* issues the piece under study may better be described as a token, perhaps the identity token of a member of the reievant *Pura-janapada*.

A UNIQUE SATRAPAL COIN

B. N. Mukherjee

(Pl. I)

There is an interesting die-struck copper coin in the collection of Mr. S.C. Agrawal of Allahabad. It was found by him in the locality of Kosam in the Allahabad district. He has kindly permitted me to notice this piece. It can be described as follows :—

Metal–copper; shape–intended to be round; Size 2 cm. × 1.90 cm.; weight–2.1 gm.

Obverse. A tree within railing on left, a wavy line on right, and below these a symbol comparable with that appearing on the coins of the Indo–Parthian king Gondophares I and his associates (R. B. Whitehead, *PMC.*, I, pp. 146f; B.N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source–A Study in Indo–Parthian History*, p. 219); marginal legend in Brāhmī characters–(VII) *Khatapasa Vaja* (or *jā* ?) *tatajama.*

Reverse. A horse prancing to left.

(Pl. I. 3)

The style of delineating the horse on this coin has close similarity with that of representing the same animal on the coins of Mathuran satraps like Śivadatta, Hagāmasha and Hagāna (J. Allan, *BMC,AI*, pl. XXV, no. 26; pl. XXVI, nos. 1. and 6). The palaeographic features of the legends on all these coins may date them to about the same period (*ibid.*). Moreover, the coins of these Kshatrapas of Mathurā bear, like the coin in question, the so-called symbol of Gondophares I (*ibid.*). Thus the ruler concerned should be associated with the Kshatrapas af Mathurā belonging to or associated with the group of Gondophares I (*ASSIPH*, pp. 146 and 252–254).

We can notice a wavy line and a tree within railing also on the coins of Śivadatta and Hagāmasha. But the tree on these pieces is somewhat different in appearance from that on the coin underdiscussion. On the other hand, the tree, the wavy line and a female figure on the coins of Śivadatta and Hagāmasha are stylistically akin to those on the pieces struck by Śoḍāsa, the son, co-ruler (?) and

successor of Rājubula and a ruler of the Muthurā area (*BMC, AI*, pl. XXV, no, 26; pl. XXVI, nos. 1, 6 and 16).

These considerations suggest that the coin in question should be dated after the coins struck by Śoḍāsa, Śivadatta and Hagāmasha. The last mentioned Kshatrapa struck some coins jointly with Hagāna, which display the prancing horse and the Gondopharian symbol, but not the female figure or tree or wavy line. These coins should, therefore, be placed after the pieces minted by Hagāmasha alone, which are typologically related to those of Śoḍāsa and Śivadatta. The conjoint rule of Hagāna and Hagāmasha should be placed, in the present state of our knowledge, immediately after the rule of Hagāmasha alone as a Kshatrapa and so before the period of the striker of the coin in question.

We have shown elsewhere that the Scytho-Parthian rule was extended to Muthurā during the period of Azilises, and that Rājubula served him at Taxila and (later?) in an area to the east of the Jhelum (including Mathurā) (*ASSIPH*, pp. 172-173 and 252-53). Rājubula's son, co-ruler (?) (*BMC, AI*, p. 190) and successor Śoḍāsa was in power in the first quarter of the 1st century A. D.

Gondophares I, who wrested parts of north western region of the Indian subcontinent, ruled probably from *c*. A.D. 20/21 to at least A.D. 45/46 (*ASSIPH*, p. 185). The extension of the influence of his group to Mathurā, probably after Śoḍāsa, may perhaps be postulated if, as suggested above, we can recognise the appearance of the Gondopharian symbol on coins of Kshatrapa, Śivadatta, Kshatrapa Hagāmasha, Kshatrapa Hagāna and Kshatrapa Vaja (or jā ?) tatajama (compare *PMC, I*, pl. xv, no. 61 with *BMC, AI*, pl. XXV, no. 26). The subordinate title *Kshatrapa*, ascribed to these rulers, may indicate their dependence on the group of Gondophares I. We must, however, admit that the title concerned may not convey their real status, and, like some independent rulers using the title *Kshatrapa*, they might not have been subordinate to any higher authority. The Gondopharian symbol on their coins should then be taken to indicate them as independent members of the Group of Gondophares I. Śivadatta might have been an Indianised foreigner.

Whether the details of the above hypotheses are acceptable or not, the coin under discussion should be attributed to Mathurā. It was struck by Kshatrapa Vaja (or jā) tatajama. That there was a ruler of this name is for the first time revealed by this coin.

COINS OF BODHI DYNASTY FROM TRIPURI

M. C. Choubay

(Pls. II-III)

The Bodhi dynasty is so far known to the students of Indian history from a few coins published in 1908 in Rapson's '*Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty*'. The dynasty has not left behind any inscription or literary evidences, which might be helpful in unravelling the history and chronology of their rule. The stray coins preserved in the Bhagvanlal Indraji collection in the British Museum were the only sources of information about the Bodhi rulers till recently.[1]

The conclusion drawn by Rapson was emulated by other scholars[1a] and the provenance of the coins was suspected to be somewhere in Western India. The Sagar University conducted scientific excavations at Tripurī from 1966—67 onward. In stratum 4 were discovered a few sealings of the Bodhi dynasty. Ajay Mitra Shastri in his treatise *Tripurī*[2] pointed out for the first time that the Bodhi kings were ruling at Tripurī and not in Western India, as was previously supposed. He successfully reconstructed the chronology of the Bodhi kings and put forth plausible arguments in support of his hypothesis. There appears to be no doubt about his contention that the Bodhis ruled at Tripurī after the eclipse of the Sātavāhana empire. Tripurī was an integral part of the Sātavāhana dominions and this fact has been amply proved by coins and inscriptions.

Till recently no literary or epigraphical reference pertaining to this dynasty was known, but of late some possible early references have been traced by Ajay Mitra Shastri.[3]

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1. [Recently a few more coins and sealings of Bodhis have seen published by K. D. Bajpai. See *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 31 ff. AMS].

1a. D. C. Sircar, *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 223; K. A. Neelkanth Sastri, *Comprehensive History of India*, p. 333.

2. A. M. Shastri, *Tripuri*, p. 29.

3. *JNSI*, XXXIV, Part 2, p. 220.

The coins issued by the Bodhi dynasty are tiny pieces of lead. They have some resemblance to Western Kshatrapa coins in as much as they bear the hill or chaitya symbol. The use of the hill symbol on reverse of the coins of the Western Satraps of the Kārdamaka family appears to have been adopted from the coins of the Sātavāhanas. This device does not appear either on the coins of Kshaharāta princes Bhūmaka and Nahapāna or on the earlier issues of Chashṭana the first coin-issuing monarch of the Kārdamaka house; but in the later issues of Chashṭana and his successors 'crescent-topped hill with wavy line below' is invariably present. Rapson believed that Chashṭana figured the hill symbol on the coins after annexing certain Sātavāhana territory.[1] The same hill symbol occurs on the Traikūṭaka silver issues also.[2] They adopted it from the Western Satrap coins and not from the Sātavāhanas with whom they have nothing in common.

The special feature of the Bodhi coins is that they are small tiny pieces commonly made of lead. Lead was used quite extensively for coining purposes by the Sātavāhanas. A fairly large number of princes of various dynasties used lead coins in imitation of the Sātavāhanas.

Why the Sātavāhanas and the Bodhis chose lead as a metal for striking coins is not known. Probably it was easily available as an imported item as is evident from a statement in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.*[3] We have evidence to show that even foregin rulers like Strato II and Rañjuvula[4] used lead for certain types of coins. It is possible that they were encouraged to use lead for their coins by the popularity of lead coins prevalent as a currency in those days. Some of the South Indian dynasties are known to have issued lead coins, the notable amongst them being the Kura kings of the Kolhapur region[5], princes like Sadakaṇa Kaḷaḷāya-Mahārathi of the Chitradurga district[6] and Chuṭukaḍānanda and Muḍānanda

1. Rapson, *BMC*, p. CLXVIII,
2. *BMC*, Plate 18.
3. *Periplus of The Erythrean Sea*, p. 42.
4. A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 183, plate XXXII. 9; *BMC*, Plate XVI. 12-13.
5. E. J. Rapson, *BMC*, pp. 5-9, Plates I—III.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58, Plate VIII. 233, 234.

of the Karwar district,[1] and the Western Satrap Rudrasena III,[2] besides the princes of Ikshvāku dynasty ruling in the Krishna-Guntur -Godavari region.[3] Lead as an alloy is known to Kauṭilya, who lived in the fourth century B.C. It came to be employed as a metal for preparing coins at a much later period. Lead enjoyed popularity as a coin metal after the Ikshvākus and Sātavāhanas. Among the northern Indian rulers, Strato II appears to be the earliest ruler to issue a coin type in lead.[4]

The history of the Bodhi dynasty is shrouded in mystery. The coins published by Rapson in his catalogue came from Bhagwanlal Indraji collection and hence it was presumed that they were procured from some region of Western India.[5] That is why scholars felt that the Bodhis were a Western Indian dynasty. The Śaka Satraps and Bodhis had a common symbol, viz. hill, and this fact afforded further clue to their Western Indian character. The Brāhmī characters of the very minute and indistinct legends of the Bodhi coins appear to bear close resemblance to the inscriptions of Ṛishabhadatta and Rudradāman and the coins of Nahapāna and Gautamīputra.[6] This may perhaps prove that this dynasty was ruling in the first half of 2nd century A.D. But epigraphy is a poor substitute for fixing the date of a ruler and we have seen that many a times we have erred. The glaring examples of this fact are the Vākāṭakas[7] and Somavaṁsīs, who were placed by earlier epigraphists like Bühler and Fleet in about 800 A.D.,[8] but have now been shown to belong to dates centuries earlier.

The Sagar University carried on excavations at Tripuri from 1966-67 onwards.[9] They discovered some new evidences pertaining to Bodhi dynasty. In a stratum which coincides with 3rd century A.D., they have found coins and sealings, where names of rulers

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60, Plate VIII, 235 (Chuṭukaḍananda), Plate VIII, 236 (Muḍananda).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 187, Plate XVII, 889-890.
3. *Indian Archaeology 1957-58 a review*, p. 9, Plate V.
4. *JNSI*, XVI, Plate.
5. Buhler, *Ind. Pal.*, Table III Cols. VI-IX.
6. Rapson, *BMC*, pp. 65-68.
7. *E.I.*, Vol. III, p. 260.
8. *E.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 39, (Vakatakas); Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 220.
9. *Indian Arehaeology* 1968-69, pp. 23-24.

Vasu Bodhi, Śiva Bodhi, Chandra Bodhi and Siri Bodhi are written in Brāhmī characters of post–Sātavāhana period. The *Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology* of Sagar University speaks of some very significant discoveries. It reads,

"Among the significant finds, were six inscribed circular sealings of baked clay; four of these mention the title Vāsishṭhiputra Mahārāja', before the names of two rulers, Siva Bodhi and Vasu Bodhi. These two kings ruled over the Tripurī region during 2nd and 3rd century A.D., and seem to have belonged to Bodhi dynasty, a newly discovered royal house of this region."[1]

My coins have all been collected from the ruins of Tripurī during the course of many years as a surface find. I have been able to clean and decipher a few of them, and I describe them here in detail as under :–

I. Sribodhi

Lead, Round, Diameter 0. 8 cm., Weight 6.5 grains.

Obverse : Three–arched hill, the top of the arch is obliterated. No traces of crescent, legend in Brāhmī characters of 3rd century A.D. *Siribodhisa.*

Reverse : Plain. **(Pl. II. 1)**

II. Chandrabodhi

No. 1. Lead, Round, Diam. .8 cm., Weight 6 grains.

Obv. Three arched hill, without crescent or wavy line. Legend in Brāhmī characters of 3rd century A .D. *Chandabodhisa.*

Rev. Plain. **(Pl. II. 2)**

No.2. Lead, Round, Diam. .8 cms., Weight 6 grains.

Obv. Three arched hill, without crescent or wavy line. Legend in Brāhmī characters of 3rd century A.D. *Siri Chandabodhisa.*

Rev. Plain. **(Pl. II. 3)**

III. Sivabodhi

No. 1. Lead, Round, Diam. 7 cm., Weight 5.5 grains.

Obv. Three arched hill. Legend in Brāhmī characters of

1. ***Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology***, **No. 1, 1967, pp. 126-127.**

3rd century A. D. *Sivabodhi*.

Rev. Plain. (Pl. II.4)

No.2. Lead, Round, Diam. .7 cm., Weight 5.5 grains.

Obv. Three arched hill. Legend in Brāhmī characters of 3rd century A.D. *Sivabodhisa*.

Rev. Plain. (Pl. II. 5)

No.3. Lead, Round, Diam. .7 cms., Weight 6 grains.

Obv. Three arched hill, represented only by three dots. Legend in Brāhmī characters of 3rd century A.D. *Sivabodhisa*.

Rev. Plain. (Pl. II. 6)

No.4. Lead, Round, Diam. 0.8 cms., Weight 6 grains.

Obv. Three arched hill. Legend in Brāhmī characters of 3rd century A.D...*vabodhi*. Probably the *si* has been cut in the die.

Rev. Plain. (Pl. II. 7)

No.5. Lead, Round, Diam. .9 cm., Weight 7 grains.

Obv. Three arched hill without crescent or wavy line. Legend in Brāhmī characters of 3rd century A.D. *Sivabodhi*.

Rev. Plain. (Pl. II. 8)

No.6. Lead, Round, Diam. 1 cm., Weight 9 grains.

Obv. Three arched hill. Legend in Brāhmī characters of 3rd century A.D. *Sivabodhisa*.

Rev. Plain. (Pl. II. 9)

IV. Vasubodhi

No.1. Lead, Round, Diam. 1.7 cms., Weight 9.7 grains.

Obv. Three arched hill, with two vertical wavy lines, a crescent over the hill. Brāhmī legend *Vasubodhi*.

Rev. Tree in railing, traces of the figure of a man standing on the right side of the railing. (Pl. II. 10)

No.2. Lead, Round, Diam. 0. 8 cms., Weight 5 grains.

Obv. Brāhmī legend *Vasubodhisa*.

Rev. Plain. (Pl. II. 11)

No.3. Lead, Oval, Diam. 1.2 x 1 cms., Weight 10 grains.

Obv. Three arched hill with a crescent on the top, between two vertical wavy lines. Legend in Brāhmī around the circle–*Vasu . . . . sa.*

Rev. A tree, a man standing with outstretched arms on right. (**Pl. II. 12**)

No.4. Lead, Round, Diam. 0.8 cms., Weight 5 grains.

Obv. Crescent topped three-arched hill between two vertical wavy lines. Brāhmī legend. *Vasubodhisa.*

Rev. A man standing, behind him a female figure, probably his consort. (Traces of tree in railing). (**Pl. II. 13**)

No.5. Lead, Round, Diam. 0.7 cm., Weight 4.5. grns.

Obv. Three arched hill. Brāhmī legend *Vasubodhi.*

Rev. Plain. (**Pl. II. 14**)

No.6. Lead, Round, Diam. 0.8 cms., Weight 4.5 grns.

Obv. Crescent-topped three-arched hill with two vertical wavy lines. Legend in Brāhmī *Vasubodhisa.*

Rev. Tree. (**Pl. II. 15**)

No.7. Lead, Round, Diam. 1. 2 cms., Weight 6. 7 grns.

Obv. Three-arched hill with a crescent and two vertical wavy lines. Brāhmī legend—*Vasubo......*

Rev. Plain. (**Pl. II. 16**)

No.8. Lead, Round, Diam. 1 cm., Weight 8 grns.

Obv. As above. Brāhmī legend—*Vasubodhisa.*

Rev. Tree. (**Pl. II. 17**)

No. 9. Lead, Round, Diam. 1 cm., Weight 9 grns.

Obv. As above. Brāhmī legend—*Vasubodhisa.*

Rev. Man standing, tree in railing. (**Pl. II. 18**)

No.10. Lead, Round, Diam. 1 cm., Weight 6. 3 grns.

Obv. As above. Brāhmī legend—*Vasubodhisa.* The half of *subodhi* is cut in the die.

Rev. Man standing. (**Pl. III. 1**)

No.11. Lead, Round, Diam. 0. 8 cms., Weight 5 grns.

Obv. Crescent-topped three-arched hill between two straight vertical lines. Brāhmī legend—*Vasubodhi.*

Rev. Bust of a man. (**Pl. III. 2**)

V. Virabodhi

No. 1. Lead, Round, Diam. 1 cm., Weight 7 grns.

Obv. Three-arched hill with a crescent between two vertical wavy lines. Brāhmī legend—*Virabodhi.*

Rev. Man standing with outstretched arms, and behind him a tree. (**Pl. III. 3**)

No. 2. Lead, Round, Diam. 1 cm., Weight 8 grns.

Obv. Crescent-topped three-arched hill between two vertical straight lines. Only the right line is visible. Brāhmī legend—*Vira. ...sa.*

Rev. Man standing with outstretched arms. (**Pl. III. 4**)

No. 3. Lead, Round, Diam. 1. 2. cms., Weight 11 grns.

Obv. Crescent-topped three-arched hill between two vertical wavy lines. Brāhmī legend—*Virbodhisa.*

Rev. Man standing with outstretched arms. (**Pl. III. 5**)

VI. Virabodhidatta

No. 1. Lead, Round, Diam. 1. 2 cms., Weight 6. 5 grns.

Obv. Crescent-topped three-arched hill, between two vertical wavy lines. Traces of Brāhmī legend—*rabo-datta.*

Rev. Two horizontal wavy lines with a man standing, right arm outstretched. The coin is nipped at the corner. (**Pl. III. 6**)

No. 2. Copper, Round, Diam. 1. 1 cms., Weight 13 grns.

Obv. Crescent-topped three-arched hill between two vertical wavy lines. Brāhmī legend— . . *rabo* . . *dat* . .

Rev. Man standing with one arm outstretched. In front a small tree. Man seems to be plucking flowers or fruits from it. Behind the man another tree. (**Pl. III. 7**)

No. 3. Lead, Round, Diam. 1. 1 cms., Weight 10. 5 grns.

Obv. Brāhmī legend—*Virbodhidatasa.*

Rev. Man standing. (**Pl. III. 8**)

VII. Sirivasaka

No. 1. Lead, Round, Diam. 1. 5 cms., Weight 25. 5 grns.

Obv. Three-arched hill with a crescent, without wavy lines. Legend in Brāhmī . . *rivasaka.* The reconstructed legend could be Sirivasaka.

Rev. Two horizontal lines and over it a man standing with arms hanging down and on the side a three-arched hill.

(**Pl. III. 9**)

VIII. Sirisiva

No. 1. Lead, Oval, Diam. 1. 1 x 0. 9 cms., Weight 8. 8 grns.

Obv. Three-arched hill with a crescent. Brāhmī legend--...*risiva.* The reconstructed legend could be Sirisivabodhi.

Rev. Man standing with outstretched arms. On his right tree in railing and below a horizontal wavy line.

(**Pl. III. 10**)

The chronology of the Bodhi dynasty is far from settled. It is surmised that like Śrī-Gupta the founder of the Gupta dynasty Śrībodhi might be the originator of the house of Bodhis. The reverse of many coins contains tree in railing which could be the replica of a Bodhi tree. Thus it is not improbable that the Bodhis were Buddhists in faith[1]. Rapson had before him a very small collection of Bhaganlal Indraji' coins. That is why he has given a very guarded opinion about the inscription, types and symbols. So few specimens are as yet available for study that it would be hazard-ous to draw any general conclusion as to the nature of their coin-age[2]. The present collection has a larger number of coins and we could make some valuable contribution to the chronology.

The coins may be classified into two varieties. The one where the obverse has a *chaitya* symbol or hill symbol without the crescent and a legend in Brāhmī characters. The reverse in all these coins is blank. The other variety is where the obverse has a hill symbol with a crescent, between two vertical wavy lines. The reverse has either a man alone or a tree alone and sometimes a man with a tree. Occasionally two horizontal wavy lines are also seen.

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1. *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 223.

2. Rapson, *BMC.*, p. CLXXXVI.

The smallest coins appear to be of Siribodhi, Chandrabodhi, and Śivabodhi. They all have a hill symbol on the obverse and a blank reverse. These might be the earliest coin devices started by the dynasty. As stated earlier, the founder of the dynasty might be Siribodhi. The argument in favour of this contention is that the number of his coins is very small. Rapson had described only one coin[1] and in my collection also there is only one coin of this prince. This establishes our suspicion that he was the earliest ruler and being the first, must have struck only a few coins. The second ruler to issue coins was Chandrabodhi. This ruler did not make any alteration in the coin types and continued to issue the same coins as initiated by the founder. The third ruler in the dynastic list appears to be Śivabodhi. His coins are also similar to those of Siribodhi and Chandrabodhi.

The next ruler whose coins are found in fairly good number is Vasubodhi. The two clay sealings of Vāsishṭhīputra Mahārāja Śivabodhi and Vāsishthīputra Mahārāja Vasubodhi, discovered by Sagar University at Tripurī, prove that the two were co-uterine brothers. Vasubodhi probably came to the throne after the death of Mahārāja Śivabodhi. We find a definite change in the coin pattern with the emergence of his rule. The three-arched hill is surmounted by a crescent, there are two vertical lines by the sides, the reverse has now a figure of a man, with tree in railing. The weight and the size of the coins is also increased. All this directly shows that Tripurī had entered an era of prosperity. The ruler who followed Vasubodhi is Vīrabodhi or Virbodhidatta. They could be either two rulers who followed each other in succession or could be only one ruler whose name is spelt differently. Typologically his coins are similar to those of Vasubodhi. The one special feature of his coins is that the legend is complete on all the coins.

We have now a new Bodhi ruler, under the name Vāsakabodhi whose coin has a hill symbol with a crescent on the obverse and a hill with a man standing on two wavy lines on the reverse. This coin has the highest weight in this coin series namely 25.5 grns. and this could be the last of the ruling princes of this dynasty. This is the only coin of this ruler and there is no mention of Bodhi. So it could also be supposed that he might belong to some new dynasty.

1. Rapson, *B.M.C.*, p. 211, coin 998.

But the fabric and symbol of his coins are identical with those of the Bodhis; hence the possibility of his being a Bodhi ruler is very strong.

The reverse of all the coins of Śivabodhi is blank. But we have a coin of Sirisiva (Bodhi) whose device is very much akin to the coins of the later Bodhis i. e. obverse crescent-topped hill, and reverse a man, tree and wavy lines. Thus a probable surmise could be made that Sirisiva was a new ruler.

All the Bodhi coins are made of lead except one coin of Vīrbodhidatta, which is of copper. It appears copper was getting popular as a currency metal because I have in my collectios a few inscribed Brāhmī coins which are made of copper and lead and the legends on which end in Sena. These coins are typologically similar to Bodhi coins, the obverse having a crescent-topped three-arched hill between two vertical wavy lines and on reverse a tree. Ajay Mitra Shastri has made a reference to a new ruler Mahāsena[1] on the basis of a clay sealing obtained from Tripuri excavations. It might be that the Senas followed the Bodhi dynasty as rulers of Tripurī in the 4th century A. D. But no definite conclusions can be drawn unless more sealings and coins are obtained.

When we set out to reconstruct the cultural history of Tripurī there was a wide gap between the end of Sātavāhana period and the rise of Kalachuris. Till now we had only a stray reference to thin city in the Betul copper-plate of Parivrājaka-Mahārāja Saṅkshobha, where a certain Bhānuswāmin was donated a village in Tripurī Vishaya.[2] The time of Māhārāja Saṅkshobha appears to be 518–19 A. D. The Privrājakas were the feudatories of the Guptas and Tripurī formed a part of their dominion upto the 6th century A.D. Thus we conclude that the end of Sātavāhana rule in the 2nd century A. D. saw the rise of Bodhi dynasty in the 3rd century A. D. and before it became a part of the Gupta empire there might have been a few more local chiefs like the Senas.

1, *Tripuri*, p. 32.
2. *E. I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 284-88.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE BODHIS

Name of the ruler	Obverse	Reverse	Size	Weight
1. Siribodhi	Three arched hill & legend	—	0.8 cms.	6.5 grns.
2. Chandrabodhi	Three arched hill & legend	—	0.8 cms.	5 grns. 6 grns.
3. Sivabodhi	Three arched hill & legend	—	0.7 cms.	5.5 grns.
			0.8 cms.	6 grns.
			0.9 cms.	7 grns.
			1 cms.	9 grns.
4. Vasubodhi	Three arched hill & legend	—	0.8 cms.	5 grns.
	Three arched hill, crescent	Tree in railing. A man	1.7 cms.	9.7 grns.
	Two wavy lines, legend	Tree	1.2 cms.	10 grns.
		Tree in railing. A Man, A female.	0.8 cms.	5 grns.
			0.7 cms.	4.5 grns.
5. Virabodhi	Three arched hill, crescent	Man standing	1 cms.	7 grns.
	Two wavy lines, legend		1.2 cms.	8 grns.
				11 grns.
6. Virabodhidatas	,, ,,	,, ,,		
	Legend only.	Man with two horizontal wavy lines.	1.1 cms.	6.5 grns.
				10.5 grns.
		Man with tree plucking flowers.	1.2 cms.	11 grns.
7. Vasaka	Three arched hill with crescent and legend	Three arched hill, Man two wavy lines.	1.5 cms.	25.5 grns.
8. Sirisiva	,, ,,	Man, Tree, One wavy line	1.1 cms.	8.8 grns.

BRITISH MUSEUM ROMANO-KUSHANA MEDALLION : ITS NATURE AND IMPORTANCE

Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

(**Pl. V**)

In 1972, when I was for some time with the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, its keeper G.K. Jenkins showed me an unusual gold medallion having a central circular disc, mounted with a broad border of several rope and bead strings with an ear on the top (**Pl. V. 1.**). The object, thus, is in the nature of a jewellery and it was meant to be used as a pendant of a necklace or some other ornament. Its numismatic interest lies in the circular disc, which bears the bust of the Roman Emperor Constantine I on one side and the Kushāṇa goddess Ardoksho (standing, as seen on the coins of Huvishka). This unusual coupling of a typical Roman type with a typical Kushāṇa type had attracted the attention of R. Göbl long before me; and he published a note about it in a German Numismatic Journal.[1]

In this Note,[2] Göbl has traced out the origin of the Roman motif in those coins that were issued in 325 and 326 A.D. at the *Vicennalia* of Constantine and Nicaenum. He has also noticed similarity between the Kushāṇa enthroned Ardoksho, seen on some Vāsudeva coins and the enthroned figure of Constantinopolis on the silver medallions issued in 330 A.D. On the basis of this similarity, Göbl has postulated that had this form (i.e. enthroned) of Ardoksho been known to the imitator, he would have naturally taken it as his model; since he did not, according to Göbl, it meant that the present medallion was not produced long after 325 A.D. Consequently, he is of the opinion that the reigns of the Kushāṇa King Huvishka and Constantine the Great cannot have been widely separated in time. In

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1. Zwei neur Termini fur ein Zentrales Datum der Alten Geschichte Mittelasiens, das Jahr I des Kushankonigs Kanishka. In : *Anzeiger der phil-list. Klasse der Osterreicheschen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Jahrgang **1964**, So. **7**, pp. **149-151.**

2. English translation of this note was provided to me by my good friend N. W. Lowick of the British Museum.

conclusion he suggests, "While the Sassanians were striving to take the Kushāṇa empire between pincers" with the help of the Guptas, Rome, under Constantine, recognised the Kushāṇas as a distant opponent of the Sassanians, with whom it might attempt in its turn to involve the Persian Empire in a war on two fronts. It is thus possible that *Vicennalia* issues of various kinds were sent to the Kushāṇa court and the mixed medallion owes its origin to this occurrance."

This curious medallion is now re-published by Göbl in the last issue of this *Journal*.[1] In this paper, while he has reiterated his earlier views about the prototypes of the two sides of the central disc of the medallion with some more details, his conclusions here are very much different. Now he says that (i) it was struck in India; (ii) it was the product of a normal Kushāṇa mint; (iii) it would have been issued either within the space about 325 and 330 A.D. or only shortly later (not in any case later than 337 A.D.); it was issued by Vāsudeva II. The reason for issuing this mixed-type piece, given by him, is entirely new. He now says, "Vāsudeva was looking for political help in the struggle with Kanishka II to the old friends of his father Huvishka. Since the emperor, to whose help he appealed was Constantine I himself, as shown by the obverse, the medallion should be, in any case, issued before 337 A.D., the year of the death of the great monarch." With these assumptions, Göbl considers this piece as an important testimony for (i) the relation of the Later Imperial Rome and the Kushāṇa State in India; and (ii) the Kushāṇa chronology.

One may very well agree with Göbl so far as the identity of the bust of Constantine I, depicted on the piece, is concerned. It might well have been imitated from those coins that he has cited as its proto-type; and on its basis it may be said that the piece could not have been produced at any date earlier than 325 A. D. This may be *terminus ante quem*. But no *terminus post quem* may be fixed. It is extremely difficult to agree with him that its production was confined to the period between 325 and 337 A. D. on the evidence adduced by him. The suggestion that the enthroned figure of Constantinopolis was the prototype of enthroned Ardoksho seen on the coins of Kanishka III (Göbl's Kanishka II) is merely hypothe-

1. XXXVIII,I, pp. 21-26.

tical. It is based on the assumption that the Kanishka era began in 232 A. D. This date cannot be used for any purpose till it is firmly established.

If there is no bias in favour of this date 232 A.D. for the beginning of the era, it may well be pointed out that Zeus enthroned could very well be the prototype for the enthroned Ardoksho, to be adopted on the Kushāṇa coinage. Zeus enthroned was a very common motif on the Indo-Greek coins and is seen as late as the last ruler of the race–Hermeus.[1] Not only that it is also found on some of the Śaka-Pahlava coins.[2] The Indo-Greek and Śaka-Pahlava coins have often been found along with the Kushāṇa coins. As such, it was much more readily available to the Kushāṇa mint-masters for adoption than the Roman commemorative pieces of Constantinople having the enthroned Constantinopolis, which were rare and are never known in the territories of the Kushāṇas.

In spite of this, even if we assume that the motifs on the two sides of the piece were contemporary, as suggested by Göbl, we must be sure about the purposeful and convincing motive behind the issue of the piece with motifs belonging to two entirely different states, situated widely apart. We do know of trade relations between the distant Rome and the Kushāṇa kingdom ; but we do not have even the slightest indication anywhere in archaeology or history of any political or diplomatic relations between the two. We have nothing to say that Constantine I or any other Roman emperor had any kind of friendship with Huvishka or any other Kushāṇa ruler. In the absence of some such basic fact, the explanations suggested by Göbl for the issue of this piece in his German note as well as in the Indian article would remain a wild guess bearing no meaning and carrying no weight.

We know that Sassanids had snatched the western part of the Kushāṇa kingdom and they claimed for themselves, the overlordship over the Kushāṇas or the Kushāṇa territories ; but we do not know from any source that the Guptas had ever exerted any pressure against the Kushāṇas, in what-so-ever manner. Even if we presume, in the tune of Göbl, that the Kushāṇas were in between the pincers of the

1. A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins,* Pl. III, 3; IV, 2. 3, 7; V, 3. 4, XXI, 1, 2, 5, 9, Etc.

2. *PMC,* Indo-Greek Coins, Pl. XV. i.

Sassanids and the Guptas, we are not aware of any Roman and Sassanid conflict, that had ever taken place, nor we have heard of any idea having occurred in the minds of any Roman emperor to attack the Sassanid territories. If any such possibility could be postulated for any reason, only then in the light of the political theory that 'enemy's enemy is a good friend', it may be said that the Kushāṇas and the Romans might have been good friends and would have come into some alliance against their common enemy, the Sassanids. This might be the idea behind Göbl's suggestion. But if the conditions be viewed from the practical point, it may be easily realised that the Roman emperor could not have any kind of expectations from the Kushāṇas in case of any Roman-Sassanid war ; and equally there was no chance for the Kushāṇas to extend their hands of friendship to the Roman emperor against the Sassanids.

In any Roman-Sassanid war, the Kushāṇas, at their best, could only have put some pressure from their side on the Sassanid territory to ease the situation on the other side in favour of the Romans. But this would have been suicidal for themselves. They were no match to the Sassanid power. Any pressure from the side of the Kushāṇas over the Sassanid territory would have served no purpose in favour of the Romans; rather, it would have brought a fresh wrath for themselves from the Sassanids, whose victim they already were. Göbl has himself admitted that the Kushāṇas were sandwiched between the pressures of the Sassanids and the Guptas. In the moment of such a pressure, the Kushāṇas, having the Sassanids entangled in a war with an equally powerful enemy, would have taken a sigh of some relief; and it would have been in the best of their interest to keep themselves aloof from that war. They would have never shown any gesture of friendship towards Rome. In view of these plain facts, in case of any Roman-Sassanid clash, any gift from the Roman emperor to the Kushāṇa court would have never brought any desired result. So, we may be sure that the Roman Emperor Constantine I would not have been so fool as to send gifts of the *Vicennalia* issues of various kinds to appease the Kushāṇa monarch by issuing the hybrid piece for no material gain.

Even if we go to the extent of the absurd presumption that Constantine I was so idiot that he could not assess the correct political situation and was foolish enough to issue the piece for appeasing the Kushāṇa monarch in some false hope, the medallion itself would

cry aloud against any such presumption; and it would say that it was not the product of any Roman mint.

Had the piece been a product of any Roman mint, it is glaringly clear that the cutters of its dies would have never blundered or barbarised the Roman legend, with which they were so familiar and which they were daily cutting in the dies for the coins of their own mint. Again, the persons, responsible for the production of the piece would not have been unaware about the purpose for which it was being produced. They undoubtedly would have known that the piece was meant for Huvishka to appease him and that it was an invitation for a war-alliance or at least for a diplomatic friendship. And, as such, they would have never selected Ardoksho for the piece, who was the goddess of wealth and prosperity and not of war, victory or friendship. There was no dearth of gods and goddess in the realm of Huvishka's coinage, who could carry the message aptly. The inappropriate selection of the Goddess is, by itself, another indication that the piece was never meant for the purpose suggested. Above all this, had the piece been meant to be sent as gift to Huvishka, the die-cutters would have certainly taken every care to reproduce the *tamghā*, the personal insignia of Huvishka, correctly. They would have certainly not missed even one horizontal bar, as we find in the piece, as the *tamghā* is always found prominently on the Kushāṇa coins and could never be missed even by a layman's eyes, what to say of those who were meant to see the coins.

It seems that Göbl has realised the absurdity of his suggestion in the German note; and most likely for this reason, he has abandoned it in his latest article and has propounded a new theory to explain the piece. But unfortunately his new theory is equally baseless and untenable.

There is no evidence what-so-ever to suggest that Vāsudeva II had any struggle with Kanishka II (or III). The numismatic evidences are clear enough to show that the succession from Vāsudeva II to Kanishka III (Göbl's Kanishka II) was peaceful and smooth. Vāsudeva II had no occasion to seek any political or military assistance from any quarter. Even if he would have had any such necessity, it is unlikely that he would have looked towards Rome and sought assistance from Constantine I inspite of his friendly relations (of which we have no evidence) with Huvishka It was physically impossible for Rome and its emperor to come

to the rescue of Vāsudeva II without endangering his own position with the intervening kingdom of the Sassanids. But if we believe that Vāsudeva II looked towards Constantine I for help and had to issue any special medallion to meet this end, it would go without saying that he would have had his own identity disclosed on it along with that of the Roman Emperor. On the present medallion, while we have the bust of his ally the Roman Emperor, copied on one side, we have nothing on the other side, which could be said Vāsudeva II's own. If nothing else, at least his personal *tamghā* should have been there; but even that is absent here. Instead we have here the figure of Ardoksho, borrowed from Huvishka's coins; and that too, is such a motif that does not befit the occasion. If this motif was meant on the medallion to stress the friendship of Huvishka with the Roman Emperor, as Göbl seems to suggest, a suitable motif could have been conveniently selected from amongst the gods and goddesses, known on the coins of Huvishka, who could have symbolised friendship, peace, war or victory. The goddess in dress, anatomy and sculptural style is conspicously unlike and proper Kushāṇa version. The drapery has a peculiarly fluid, unoccupied look. Anatomical carelessness is so marked that one cannot be sure or whether it is a spindly right arm that supports the cornucopiae of it is merely the bottom of pepulam. The entire motif is absolutely un-Kushanian. These facts create doubt about the medallion having been issued by Vāsudeva II or any other Kushāṇa ruler for the purpose suggested by Göbl. That the medallion was decidedly not issued by any Kushāna ruler is apparent from the facts that the *tamgha* on it is defective and the legend *Ardoksho* is not correctly reproduced. It is unthinkable that any Kushāṇa engraver would have been so stupid as not to know their correct forms and commit such glaring mistakes.

To sum up, there is nothing in the medallion that could make one believe that it was the product of a Roman mint (as was impliedly suggested by Göbl in his German Note) or of a Kushāṇa mint (as is openly declared by him in his later article) and is testimony of any (real or fictitious) political or diplomatic relations between Rome and the Kushāṇa State of India. There is also nothing in it to show in any way that the two motifs, adopted on the two sides, were borrowed from two contemporary coins and that they suggest any contemporaneity between Constantine I and Huvishka or Vāsudeva II

and that it is an unimpeachable evidence to support the date of Kanishka era as propounded by Göbl. *Prima facie*, the medallion is nothing more than a fantasy, a creation of some fanciful jeweller. Thus, it has no worth historically.

The medallion may, however, be interesting from a numismatist's point of view and one might like to know the source of this fanciful piece. In the contexts discussed above, Göbl in his later paper has thought of its Indian origin. Coins undoubtedly have fascinated Indian people and they used coins for necklaces, bracelets or pendants. And Kushāṇa coins are not few amongst those that were used as jewellery.[1] Roman coins have also attracted Indians for this purpose. They used not only the original Roman coins but also manufactured clay bullae with Roman heads or busts.[2] A gold piece is also known which, like the present medallion, has a Kushāna coin motif on one side and a Roman motif on the other.[3] Göbl has cited this piece in his paper. But such Indian imitations of Roman coins are always crude and barbarous in their execution and none of them bears any likeness with the head or bust of any particular Roman emperor. The Indians were unconcerned about the real portrait. A comparison of the present medallion with the Indian imitations would show that the former depicts not only a true bust of Constantine I, but its fabric and execution is fine and un-Indian. Moreover, the coins or their imitations, that were used in Indian jewellery, never had any mounting frame as seen in the present medallion. They used only an ear at the top without any decorative mounting. Thus this medallion is quite different in its form and this makes it almost certain that the medallion did not originate in India.

Its un-Indian origin is also suggested by the fact that it came to the Coin Department of the British Museum from its Roman Department.[4] Had it come from any Indian source, it would have reached as an Indian jewellery to the Department of Oriental Art or as coin would have come direct to the Coin Department. Hence

1. *JNSI*, XXXVI, pp. 30-31; XXXVII, pp. 76ff.
2. Finds of Roman clay bullae are listed by the author in *JNSI*, XXXVI, p. 39.
3. *JNSI*. XII, pp. 1-4; *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.
4. Mentioned by Göbl in his paper in *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 22.

there is every likelihood that it came to the Museum from some European source and from European country.

But we need not be presumptive on this point. While coming back from London, I stopped at Munster, in West Germany, for a lecture at the University. There, in the office of Prof. Peter Berghaus I saw an enlarged photograph of a gold medallion which, like the British Museum medallion, had a central disc with the portrait of a Roman emperor surrounded by a broad frame of several zig-zag patterns and an ear at the top (**Pl. V. 2**). Thus this medallion and the British Museum medallion both carry the same pattern. The two differ only in their technical details. In the British Museum medallion the frame was made separately and was soldered to the central disc; here the central disc and the frame both were struck as one die. The basic pattern being the same, it is quite clear that the two medallions were manufactured for the same people, who had liking for Roman coin motifs and preferred a broad frame around it.

On enquiry, I was told that the medallion, of which the photograph I had seen in Berghaus' room, was found in Sweden at Senorn, Torn, Ramdale Parish, Blekinge province in 1936 and is deposited in the Statens Historika Museum, Stockholm, and was published in 1952 in *Mackeprange—De Nordiske Guldbrakteater* (p. 159). Berghaus has also published a note about it.[1] In the opinion of John Kent, whom the photograph of the medallion was shown,[2] the bust is based on that of Constantius II (336–360 A. D.) as depicted on gold *solidi* and on large medallions to the value of nine *solidi*. The portrait has, however, been reversed by the engraver and faces left instead of right.[3] In Berghaus' opinion, it might have been made in Scandinavia in the fifth century A. D.[4] The same may be true about the British Museum medallion.

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1. *Bodenaltertumer Westfalens*, XII, p. 72. Pl- 18. 10.
2. N.W. Lowick has kindly taken trouble to consult him on my behalf and his views were conveyed to me in the letter dated 17th March 1975.
3. The portrait may be of Valentinian II (375-395) according of another scholar.
4. Personal letter to the author dated 29th October 1974.

Göbl himself has admitted in his paper that the frame of the British Museum medallion has many western parallels that date from the time of the Roman emperor Honorius (393—423 A. D.). He also admits that the polygonal ear and its art was typical of the fifth century A. D.[5] As such, according to Göbl's own admission, the frame dates not earlier than the fifth century. He laid aside this evidence and took no notice of the frame as it was against his own imaginations about the central disc. But if we do not ignore the frame and the ear, as Gōbl did, any one, who is unbiased from any kind of pre-notions about the central disc, would unhesitatingly admit that the two–the disc and the frame with ear—were the art of one and the same period and were the works of the same jeweller-artist.

The reverse motif, the standing Ardoksho adopted from the coins of Huvishka, is in no way a bar to the identification of the Medallion as of Scandinavian or Western European origin. It is well known that the Kushāṇa coins have been found in western and northern Europe.[1] One of those Kushāṇa coins might have caught the fascination of some one somewhere only in Europe, in the same way as the Roman coins fascinated the Indians, and he or she got its copy placed on the reverse of the medallion.[2] Thus if this medallion has got any value for us, it is only that it may be an evidence of the extension of the Kushāṇa coins in Europe and perhaps also of the trade relations with India, direct or indirect.

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1. *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 23.
2. B. Gufurov, *Kushana Civilization and World Culture*, 1968, p. 11.
3. Alexender C. Soper has discussed the medallion in quite detail; and he thinks that it may be a modern forgery. Alternatively, he suggests that a wealthy patron of some third nationality-an Armenian merchant prince, might have ordered the piece as a kind of talisman or thanks-offering, recording his debt to, two powers, an East Roman emperor and an east Iranian goodess of good fortune. A skilful native diecutter with a coin of Constantine to copy, but perhaps only a description of the goddess, to whom both Latin and Greek were wholly alien scripts, might have prepared it. He further adds that this medallion could ever be made truly relevant to the date of Kanishka is beyond his power of belief. (*Artibus Asiae*, XXXIV, p. 113).

THE IDENTIFICATIONS OF CALTIS : AN EXAMINATION

Jai Prakash Singh

The *Periplus* referring to a river "called the Gange" mentions that "on its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river, Gange. Through this place are brought malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls, and muslins of the finest sorts, which are called Gangetic. It is said that there are gold-mines near these places and there is a gold coin which is called *Caltis*."[1] The statement implies that the coin called *Caltis* was in circulation in the flourishing market-town of Ganges. Various identifications of *Caltis* have been proposed by scholars from time to time. We propose to examine some of the important identifications in this paper.

Schoff elsewhere states that "the coin called *Caltis* is thought by Benfey to be the Sanscrit *Kalita*, "numbered." There was, however, a South Indian coin called *kali* (Elliot, op. cit. 137) while Vincent, quoting Stuckius, mentions one of Bengal called *Kallais*. Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, V, 269), preferred the refined gold called *Canden*.[2] Schoff deliberately avoided his personal preference for any one of these identifications, realizing perhaps the difficulty in identifying this enigmatic coin-name.

The South Indian coins called *Kali* were at one time current in Kerala. It appears, however, that these coins cannot be identified with the so-called *Kali* coins. It will be perhpas useful to reproduce here the relevant portion of Elliot's *Coins of Southern India* in this regard. Sir Walter Elliot was given 14 coins by the Dewan of Travancore, together with a list, and three lead and one iron coins by Rama Verma, the King of that State, who ascended the throne in 1880. Writing about these coins Elliot says that "according to the general belief of the people, the oldest coin known is the *rāsi* (No. 1 in the Dewan's list). They even go so far as to declare that it was struck by Parasu Rāma when he made over the rule of

1. Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 47-48.
2. P. L. Paul in his *History of Bengal* (p. 130 n) has favoured the identification of the *Caltis* with *Kallais* of Bengal.

Kerala to Bhanu Vikrama, the first king. Judging from its appearance alone, it must have been subsequent to the four pieces presented to me by the Rāja, which probably go back to the earlier years of monarchy, and would therefore date from a period anterior to the seventh or eighth century. The reverse of all four is smooth, and the obverse, which is much worn, exhibits an imperfect outline of what may have been a *sankh* shell, the ancient cognizance of the Travancore state, which it still retains. They, as well as the *rāsi*, have long given place to a more modern currency the oldest form of which is the Kali, properly called *Kali-yugen-rājen* fanam, or money of the *Kali-yuga*, at one time current over the whole of Kerala, of this there are two varieties bearing a slight resemblance to the *rāsi*. One of these is said to have been issued by the Kolatnaḍ, or Cherakal Rāja, which was afterwards imitated by the Zamorin, and called *vira rāyen puṭiya* fanam, or Zamorins new coin to distinguish it from that of Kolatnaḍ, which then became the palaya or old fanam".[1]

It is, thus, clear from the above passage that the *Kali* coins cannot be identified with the coins called *Caltis*, as they were struck centuries after *Periplus*. Besides, the circulation area of these coins too are different and hence also they cannot be identified.

Cunningham took the *Caltis* "to be a gold hun of the weight of a Kalutti seed, about 50 grains." He also went on to suggest that "it was the native gold currency of the country".[2] Elsewhere Cunningham has observed "that although no specimens of ancient Indian gold money have come to us, yet we know, from the *Erythraen Periplus*, that on the eastern coast there was a native gold coin called *Kaltis*, from which the merchants derived a profit by giving Roman gold and silver money in exchange. The name seems to be the same as the *Kalutti* of Malayalam, the Karanda of Ceylon, and the Kāḷanju of South India.[3] The seed is used as a weight which is now over 50 grains. Taking the weight as a guide, I have little hesitation in identifying the *Kaltis* with the gold Hun of South India, which averages about 52 grains".[4]

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1. *Coins of Southern India, (CSI)*, p. 137.
2. *Coins of Ancient India. (CAI)*, p. 2.
3. Cunningham at this point has cited Elliot's, *CSI*, p. 48,
4. *CAI*, p. 49,

The above statement of Cunningham is based purely on the basis of the similarity between the words *Caltis* and *Kalutti.* But it should be remembered, in this connection, that where as the *Caltis* is specifically mentioned as a gold coin, the *Kalutti* was a seed used only as a weight. It is also worthwhile to note in this regard that even as a weight Kaḷanju was perhaps more popular than Kalutti. Elliot writing about the Kaḷanju states that "it may be written *Kaḷanju,* or *Kaṛanju,* or *Kazhanju,* according to the system followed by Gundert, Caldwell or Ellis. Rheede has *Kalutti* and *caretti* for the Malayalim names, and Gundert *Kaḷanju* for the weight ("=2 silver or 10 gold fanams"), and *Kalacci* or *Kalacchi* for the tree, as also *Kaḷanjukol*=scales for weighing........[1]

As regards the weight of the seeds Elliot says that the few seeds he possessed weighed "about 40 grs. each, one only reached 42 grs. Mature seeds would probably average from 45 to 50 grs".[2] But Cunningham perhaps overlooked this observation and took the average weight of the seed as "over 50 grains".

Writing about the Purāṇa coins Elliot says that "by whatever name the elding was known in other parts of India, it probably in the South may have taken the designation of the weight Kaḷanju, which it represented;........"[3] It appears, however, that Elliot himself was against this identification of the coin with the designation of the weight. Thus writing in the same strain about gifts recorded in Temple inscriptions, he says that some of these gifts are "generally specified simply in *Kaḷanjus,* or in *Kaḷanjus* of gold, which may refer either to weights or coins, but more probably the former".[4] But Cunningham, in all probability, overlooked the other observations of Elliot and formulated his opinion identifying the *Caltis* with *Kalutti,* as pointed out earlier. Finally Cunningham based his identification of the *Caltis* with the hun coins of South India, on the following observation of Elliot, with regard to the gold coins of early South India.

1. Elliot, *CSI*, p.48, n. 5.
2. *Ibid* , p. 48.
3. *Ibid.*; pp. 50-51. In the light of this statement, it is tempting to suggest that Cunningham was perhaps inspirad to identify *Caltis* with *Kalutti*, on the basis of the above mentioned identification rendered by Elliot,
4. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

"The oldest specimens I have seen are spherules quite plain and smooth, save for a single very minute punch-mark too small to be identified-by the impress of which they have been slightly flattened. They weigh about 52 grains; evidently derived from the *Kaḷanju*, their original name being *pon*, which simply means gold in Tamil, becoming *hon*, in Canarese, and the origin of the Mehommedan hun".[1]

Thus it appears that Cunningham's identification of the *Caltis* with the South Indian gold hun, weighing about a *Kalutti* or 52 grains is more conjectural than based on reasonable grounds. The identification was perhaps hazarded more on account of the similarity between the words *Caltis* and *Kalutti* than on the basis of any positive eviedence. *Periplus* has not made any reference to the weight of the *Caltis*; besides the coin was current in the town of Gange which is located in Bengal and not in South India. The mere fact, that the circulation areas of the *Caltis* and the hun are totally different, renders the identification unacceptable.

The coins called *Caltis* are said to have circulated in the town of Gange, which was situated in a country of the same name. Therefore, the territory must be located in the region of the river Ganges. Hence, these coins perhaps cannot be identified with those that did not circulate in the region of the Ganges. It appears, that this was realised early and attempts were made to locate the circulation area in Bengal and the round about regions. It will be appropriate, however, to examine its supposed connection with the Kalitas of Assam, before taking up its supposed circulation in Bengal.

It was perhaps Benfey, who first thought that the coin name *Caltis* was derived from the Sanskrit word *Kalita* meaning numbered.[2] K. L. Barua, was the first scholar to connect this coin-name, perhaps on the basis of Benfey's suggestion, with the Kalitas of Assam. Barua[3] opīned that *Caltis* was used by the Assamese Kalita merchants, implying thereby that either the coins were struck by them or they came to be known after them due probably to their close association with them. It is possible that some of the merchandise that passed through Gange may well have come from different parts of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
2. Cf. *Commerce and Navigation* cited by P.C. Choudhary.
3. *History of Kamrupa*. p. 189.

Assam. Besides the reference to gold mines near Gange might as well be indicative of the gold mined in Assam[1] and from the washing of some of its rivers.

The line of thought initiated by Barua, in this regard, was taken up by P. C. Choudhary, even though he does not seem to refer to the former on this point. It is certain, however, that Choudhary was merely trying to give a new shade to the opinion of Barua. Thus referring to Benfey's derivation of *Caltis* from Sanskrit *Kalita*, he goes on to suggest that *Caltis* coins may have been struck by the Kalitas of Assam as rulers.[2] But there is hardly any evidence supporting the kingship of the Kalitas, not only of Assam, but even of Orissa during or before the date of *Periplus*. Choudhary has connected the Kalitas with the Kulūtas of Trigarta, suggesting thereby that they brought their numismatic traditions to Assam and continued to issue coins in their new habitat.[3] The suggestion of an early migration of the Kulūtas[4] to the valley of the Brahmputra, who supposedly became the ancestors of the later Kalitas of Assam is unsupported. Besides, even if it is accepted that the Kulūtas did come and settle down in Assam, there is nothing to suggest that they continued to issue coins in their new home, as it is not confirmed by the find of any coins.[5] Thus there is probably nothing to connect the coins called *Caltis* with the Kalitas of Assam.

The next important view connects the *Caltis* with the Kushāṇa gold coins and suggests their circulation in Bengal. It is very important to note the gradual development of the view associating the coin with Bengal and identifying it with the Kushāna gold. Thus

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1. Ibn Khurdadba has also referred to the availability of gold in Kamrun or Kamarupa, cf. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I,p 13.

2. P. C. Choudhary, *The History of Civilisation of the People of Assam to the Twelfth Century A.D.* (Gauhati, 1959), pp. 31, 108, 388.

3. Coins of some Kulūta kings are known but these coins do not fit in with the *Periplus'* description of the *Caltis* which was struck in gold to circulate in Gange.

4. The Kalitas are connected with various other peoples like the Koliyas etc. cf. *Kolitā Jātir Itivṛtta* (Assamese) by Banikanta Kakoti.

5. Perhaps the earliest gold coins found from Assam are the Paglatek Imitation gold coins published by R.D. Chaudhary and M.C. Das in *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 171-74, and the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, XX, pp. 56-61. But these coins are much later in date than the time of the *Periplus*.

it has been pointed out that "*the Periplus of the Erythraen Sea* records that a gold coin, known as *Caltis*, was in vogue in the market-town of Gange (Tamralipiti ?) at about the first cenury A.D."[1] Elsewhere it has been pointed out that "as to the gold coin it is to be noted that a coin made of the precious metal has been unearthed at Mahasthangarh representing the standing bearded figure of Kanishka on the obverse and Nannaia on the reverse (*ASI*, 1930–34, Pt. II, 256). It is, however, difficult to say whether the coin mentioned in the *Periplus* was issued by the imperial government of the Kushānas or some local administration in the Gangetic delta."[2] This suggestion has, found favour with several scholars from Bengal who identify the *Caltis* with Kushāṇa gold,[3] mainly on the basis of its discovery together with those of its imitations, from different parts of Eastern India.[4] But, it appears to us that the suggested identification of the *Caltis* with the Kushāṇa gold and the circulation of the latter in lower Bengal is not convincing. The gold coins of the Kushāṇas were issue to circulate in all probability in the Central Asian parts of their Kingdom. If it is accepted that the Kushāṇa gold was intended as a rival to the Roman gold, through which the bulk of international trade through the Silk route was conducted prior to the Kushānas, then, the Central Asian nature of this money cannot be doubted.

The fact that the Kushāṇa gold was struck on the pattern of the Roamn coinage and is influenced by the latter[5] also suggests that it was intended to compete with the Roamn gold in the market. The Central Asian nature of the money is also suggested by the multiplicity of the depictions of deities on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. The international trade routes passing through Central Asia made the region a veritable meeting ground of diverse peoples and cultures. It is possible that the multiplicity of deity-depictions on these coins was intended to facilitate their easy acceptability, among the people that followed diverse pantheons, against the established Roman currency.

1. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 664 (1971 reprint).
2. *History of Bengal*, I,p. 45. There is no mention regarding the issue of the *Caltis* in the *Periplus*. Only this much is said that it was in circulatlon in the town of Gange.
3. *Some Problems of Kushana and Rajput History*, (1969), p. 64; *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (1971), p. 142, cf. also *JNSI*, XXXVI, p. 67.
4. *Some Problems of Kushana and Rajput History*. pp. 58-59.
5. D. W. Mac Dowal, *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 63 ff; cf. also Robert Göbl, *Ibid.*, pp. 75 ff.

The inclusion of the north and east India-probably as far as Varanasi, under the Kushāṇa sway enabled a free flow of the Kushāṇa currency in these parts also, mainly through the transactions of the traders of these regions. In course of time the Kushāṇa money became fairly popular in these regions due mainly to its purity of metal, and popularity as an established currency. This resulted in the manufacture of imitations not only of the Kushāṇa gold but also of copper.

It is widely accepted that the Kushāṇa kingdom did not extend beyond Varanasi in the east though it is possible that Kanishka may have raided as far as Pataliputra or even beyond. But there is no evidence to show that Kanishka or any other Kushāṇa king ruled over Bihar and Bengal. The discovery of Kushāṇa coins from these parts is too scarce. In fact the eastward distribution of the Kushāṇa gold decreases gradually.

Thus it can be said that the Kushāṇa coins did not circulate in any part of Bengal, although it is not impossible that some traders may have used it as a medium of exchange occasionally. The paucity of these coins from Bengal is a definite indication that the Kushāṇa gold did not circulate in Bengal as a regular currency and as such it cannot be identified with *Caltis* that circulated in the market town of Gange.

There are no other gold coins from Bengal or for that matter any other part of the round about region that could be ascribed to a date earlier than the *Periplus* and be identified with the *Caltis*. It is possible that the *Caltis* might not have been actual coins in a modern sense of the term and may have only been lumps of gold. At the present state of our knowledge, however, it is difficult to identify the *Caltis* with any amount of certainty.

ELEPHANTA HOARD OF COPPER COINS OF KRISHNARAJA

Shobhana Gokhale

(**PL. IV**)

In December 1974 I had been to Kanheri to study inscriptions. Shri S. G. Bagad, a relative of Mr. V. M. Vani, Care-taker at Kanheri Caves, gave me some thirtyone copper coins which he had obtained at Elephanta Caves. Once he casually visited Elephanta and from a hawker he received some old copper coins and after inquiry the hawker reported to Bagad that such type of coins were available on the seashore near Elephanta and Mor, a small village on the island. Out of thirty-one coins, only six are in good condition. My thanks are due to Bagad, who kindly handed over these coins to me for study.

When the coins were cleaned, I was surprised to read the legend *Sri Kṛishṇarāja* in Brāhmī script.

The coins may be described as follows:—

Copper, round, diam. 1.02 cm. to 1.5 cm., average weight ranges from 0. 950 gms. to 0. 310 gms.

Obv. Legend : *Sri kṛishṇarāja* within dotted border, below the name depiction of alter-like hollow symbol.

Rev. : Couchant Nandi facing left, faint depiction.

(**PL. IV.** 1)

The sides of some of the coins were broken. The palaeographical features of the legend of these coins are similar to those of the *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas.*

The coins of the Kalachuri King Kṛishṇarāja were first discovered about 1870 in the village Devalana in the Bagalan taluka of Nasik district. Bhau Daji[1] drew attention to the similarity that the coins bore to the silver coins of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta.

1. *JBBRAS*, XXI (1876), p. 213.

Later on scholars like Cunningham[1] Fleet[2] and Bhandarkar studied these coins. Bhandarkar discovered some seven coins of Kṛishṇarāja during the excavations at Besnagar. He supported Fleet's view that Kṛishṇarāja belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty and flourished in 550-575 A. D.

The silver coins of Krishṇarāja circulated over a wide territory from Rajaputana in the North to Maharashtra in the South and from Konkan in the West to Vidarbha in the East. Mirashi[3] has already pointed out that the silver coins of the Kalachuri King Kṛishṇarāja were modelled after Skandagupta's coins which were in circulation in the Anūpa country, the home province of the Kalachuris. The Anjaneri plates[4] of Bhogaśakti dated K. 461 refer to *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas*. Mirashi opines that they must have been in circulation for at least 150 years after the time of Kṛishṇarāja. He further commented that the coins of Kṛishṇarāja, which were then in circulation, were called *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas*, evidently to distinguish them from the *rūpakas* of the Kshatrapas, Sātavāhanas and the Traikūṭakas which were similar in fabric but the discovery of the present hoard has offered a new evidence. It shows that the silver and copper denominations of Kṛishṇarāja were in circulation simultaneously and hence the Anjaneri plates specifically mention the *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpaka*, to differentiate them from the current copper coins.

It appears that the present coins, though small, are modelled after the copper coins of Kumāragupta I and the bull type coins of Skandagupta. Here he dropped all reference to the patronymics and the royal title which one found on his silver coins.

The find-spot of this hoard in the vicinity of Elephanta caves is again interesting. While discussing the monuments of early Kalachuri period, Spink[5] has stated that the awe-inspiring excavation of Elephanta is the fitting symbol of the authority of the Kalachuri King Kṛishṇarāja. He has pointed out a logical sequence between the abrupt end of the Mahāyāna caves of Ajanta which

1. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, IX (1879). p. 29.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, p. 68.
3. *CII*, IV, p. clxxx.
4. *Ibid*, p. 90.
5. Walter Spink, "Monuments of the Early Kalachuri Period", *Journal of Indian History*, XLVI (1968), p. 263.

was mainly due to the political unrest caused by the expansionist movement of the Kalachuri King Kṛishṇarāja which drastically ended the cultural activities at Ajanta. Spink with the help of the comparative study of the stylistic features of sculptures, iconographic traditions and other architectural datails of both Ajanta and Elephanta has further shown that the massive Śaivite caves at Jogeśvarī and Elephanta might have been excavated by the craftsmen trained during the Vākāṭaka regime, who were employed in the Bombay area. If at all this hypothesis is acceptable, it may further be suggested that even if the *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas* were in circulation the urgency of copper coins, which have low purchasing power, must have been felt to satisfy the needs of workers at Elephanta. The copper coins of Kṛishṇarāja must have been minted to distribute the daily wages of craftsmen employed at the Elephanta excavation which was started under his patronage. The coins have been discovered for the first time in the vicinity of the Elephanta caves and nowhere else. It would, therefore, be logically inferred that—

(i) the present coins are the unique pieces in ancient Indian coinage;

(ii) the hoard has proved the simultaneous circulation of the copper and silver denominations of Kṛishṇarāja;

(iii) it has offered a new convincing evidence to prove that the powerful Kalachuri King Krishṇarāja was the patron of the Elephanta caves.

MISCELLANEA

I

THREE COMMEMORATIVE TETRADRACHMS OF AGATHOCLES

(Pl. VI)

In April 1976 I was in England for a short period. Then I had an occasion to see a Catalogue of Coins, issued by some auctioneer in Europe, with G. K. Jenkins, the Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum. In this Catalogue were listed coins of various series and they were to be auctioned very shortly. Amongst the coins, listed there, were five Indo-Greek silver tetradrachms; one belonged to Euthydemus, another to Eucratides (showing conjugate busts of Heliocles and Laodike) and the remaining three were the commemorative issues of Agathocles. They were all interesting for the Indian numismatists.

The provenance or the source of acquistion of these coins was not reported in the Catalogue; but Jenkins thought that all the five coins might have formed part of a hoard and would have originated from one and the same source.

Since on our side in India, we do not have an easy access to the foreign publications, particularly those that are published in the languages other than English, many people would not know of these important coins, unless they are pointedly brought to their notice. So, in the interest of the furtherance of knowledge, with apologies to the owners of the coins, I take this occasion to describe the three coins of Agathocles, which are extremely rare and are historically important. The other two coins are known to us by several pieces.

1. DIODOTUS. Weight 15.97 grammes.

Obv. Diademed head of Diodotus to right. Right DIODOTOY; left SOTEROS (both written vertically.

Rev. Naked Zeus striding to left, hurling thunderbolt with his right hand and holding aegis on the

arm of his outstretched left hand; an eagle at his left foot; a wreath above the eagle; monogram on the right. Right BASILIONTOS; in exergue DIKAIOY; left AGATHOKLEOYS. **(Pl. VI. 1)**

Earlier two coins of this type were known. One is in the British Museum (*BMC*, p. 10, No. 2; Pl. VI. 2) and the other is in the Kabul Museum. The latter was found in the Qunduz hoard (*JNSI*, XVII, I, p. 49; Pl. III. 4). Thus this is the third specimen to come to light.

2. EUTHYDEMUS. Weight 14. 71 grammes.

Obv. In pellet border, diademed head of Euthydemus to right; Right EUTHYDEMOY; left THEOY (both written vertically).

Rev. Naked Herakles, seated on rock, holds club, which rests on his right knee. Monogram on right. Right BASILIONTOS; exergue DIKAIOY; left AGATHOKLEOYS. **(Pl VI. 2)**

Only one coin of this type was known earlier and it is in the British Museum (*BMC*, p. 10, No. 3; Pl. IV. 3).

3. PANTALEON. Weight 15. 42. grammes.

Obv. Diademed head of Pantaleon to right. Right PANTALEONTOS; left SOTEROS (both written vertically).

Rev. Zeus seated on throne holding sceptre in his right hand and the standing figure of Hekate in his outstretched right hand. Right BASILIONTOS; in exergue DIKAIOY ; left AGATHOKLEOYS. Monogram under the throne. **(Pl. VI. 3)**.

The importance of this coin lies in the fact that it brings to light the fact that Agathocles commemorated his brother Pantaleon also. The coin further confirms the surmise that Pantaleon had predeceased Agathocles. This coin gives Pantaleon the epithet *Soter*, which is unknown on his own coins. It is noteworthy that Agathocles has used this epithet for Diodotus also, on his commemorative issues; and that this epithet, like the coins of Pantaleon, is also missing on Diodotus' own coins. Likewise Agathocles has given the epithet *Theoy* to Euthydemus on the commemorative piece of his own choice, as it is

missing on Euthydemus' own coins. This attribution of the epithets by Agatholces on his commemorative issues is significant by itself[1].

POST SCRIPT

This is to add that a few months after writing the above, another specimen of Agathocles' tetradrachm commemorating Pantaleon came to my notice. Thus there is now not one but two coins of the previously unnoticed variety. This new coin is in a much better condition than the earlier one. This was obtained along with another tetradrachm of Agathocles that commemorates Euthydemus in the Kabul market and the provenance of these coins is also unknown like that of those described above. Not unlikely, the coins known from the two sources might have originated from one and the same find. These two coins have been published by Henri-Paul Francfort.[2]

Lastly, it might interest to know that the coin bearing the name of Pantaleon, mentioned in the catalogue, went to a collection in U.S.A. at the auction.

P. L. Gupta

1. Illustrations of the coins, given here, are reproduced from a Xerox copy of the plate given in the Catalogue hence they are not very clear.
2. *Revue Numismatique*, XVII (6th Series), 1975, pp. 19-22.

II

ANOTHER KSHUDRAKA COIN ?

Amongst the unassigned miscellaneous ancient coins of northern India in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is a coin described by Smith[1] as follows—

AE, 24.4 gr., .52 inch.

Obv. Peculiar object springing from railing; Br. *na* r.

Rev. Asokan *ja* ?

The coin has been illustrated on *ImM,* PL. XXIII. 9.

No doubt, the coin seems to be much worn. If, however, we examine the illustration very carefully, we can find traces of the letter *ka* (or *kā*) before *na* on the right hand side on the obverse of the coin. These two letters, together with the device in railing on the obvese and the letter '*ja*' on the reverse provide us clues to identify this coin as a Kshudraka coin as it very much resembles the coins of this republican state published by me in this *journal*[2].

Devendra Handa

1. Smith, *IMC,* p. 205, No. 7.

2. *JNSI,* XXXVII, pp. 13-9, pl. V, 1-2.

III

SOME MORE CLAY SEALINGS FROM SUNET

(**PL. IV**)

Sunet is famous for its yield of Yaudheya coins, coin-moulds, and clay sealings. Though scores of terracotta seals and sealings from Sunet have already been brought to light, yet any casual visitor may obtain newer material from the old mound (which is now fast coming under habitation) or from small local kids who preserve any damn thing found from the mound in the hope that the interested visitors and collectors will pay and reward them for their labours and discoveries.

During my last visit to the site, I too came across some new terracotta sealings which I publish here.

1. It is a beautiful sealing, baked red, almost circular, with a diameter of about three centimeters. It bears finger impressions on its back and is slightly damaged on one side. In a lined circle covering almost the entire flan, are carved a trident-battle axe and the Brāhmī legend *Śrī——Rājyasinghasya* (of Śrī Rājyasingha) below (**PL. IV. 2**). The last conjunct of the legend is partially damaged but easily decipherable. The device and the legend are both drawn very beautifully and show considerable skill in the art of die-cutting.

Palaeographically the sealing may be ascribed to *circa* fourth century A. D. It provides us the interesting orthographic and phonetic evidence in the conjunct *nigha.* Though such a conjunct has been found in Gupta and contemporary epigraphs also, yet it is the first example from Sunet. It clearly indicates that the people of Panjab had begun pronouncing the conjunct *niha* as *ingha* as early at least as the fourth century A. D. and the tradition countinues even to day.

The trident battle-axe device indicates Śaivite affiliation of Rajyasingha. Of his identity, however, we know little more than nothing.

2. This is an oval terracotta sealing, baked red measuring 2.7×2.5 cm. with an incuse of 1.1×1.2 cm. in a lined oval beaing

the device and the legend. The incuse is divided into two equal parts by a horizontal line. The upper portion bears a device resembling a squatting human figure with upraised hands. but it is not quite clear. The lower half bears in early Gupta characters of the Northern variety the legend *Veṅṇa* (**PL. IV. 3**) whose true purport will remain only a guess till some further evidence comes to light. Judging from the evidence obtained from some other sealings from Sunet (e. g., Jujja), Veṅṅa seems to be either the proper or nick-name of the owner of this sealing or of the deity to whom it was offered as a mark of worship. It also suggests immigration of people from other states at Sunet. There is also a rosetti like symbol of dots outside the oval on the right of this sealing. The cracks on the periphery provide sufficient evidence to beleive that the oval negative impression was pressed on the circular clay piece when it was leather hard. This sealing also bears some indistinct finger impressions on its back.

3. Baked reddish brown, this oval terracotta sealing bears inscriptions on both the sides. It measures 3.2×1.2 cm. On one side is the Brāhmī legend *Śankara-Nā|rāyanābhyā* (*ṁ*) in two lines and the other side bears the name of *Hariśa* (*r*) *mma* (**PL. IV. 4**). The legends on both the sides are in lined ovals negative impressions of which seem to have been impressed on the prepared clay tablet. Obviously this and many other similar sealings found from Sunet were offered as devotional presents by some influential denizens or pilgrims at a double shrine of Śiva and Vishṇu.

The legend *Śankara-Nārāyaṇābhyām* is not distinct, but it can be easily deciphered by one who has handled such sealings from Sunet. Palaeographically, this sealing may also be ascribed to *circa* fourth centnry A. D.

Devendra Handa

IV

A NOTE ON THE BODHIS

A reconstruction of the history of the Bodhi dynasty was attemtped by the present writer in a paper published in *JNSI* xxxiv, 213–22. It is gratifying to find that the sealings and coins of this dynasty found in excavations and surface explorations and published by K. D. Bajpai[1] and M. C. Choubay[2] generally support and place on firmer basis the suggestions offered by me. Attention may be invited to some important points emerging from this recently published material. That Śrībodhi was the first member of the dynasty was conjectured on the basis of the assumption that *Śrī* was only an honorific, the real name being Bodhi. The suggestion that Vīrabodhi or Vīrabodhidatta came after Śivabodhi was based on typological considerations, the primary factor being that all the coins of Śivabodhi are single–die issues while those of Vīrabodhi are double–die pieces. Vasubodhi was then known only from an unpublished sealing. It was conjectured from the common metronymic Vāsishthīputra enjoyed by Śivabodhi and Vasubodhi that they were uterine brothers. But as coins of Vasubodhi were not known, his position vis–a–vis Śivabodhi could not be ascertained. Vasubodhi' s lone coin from Tripurī excavations published by K. D. Bajpai[3] also did not help remove this ambiguity. But his coins found in surface explorations at Tripurī and published by M. C. Choubay finally settle this point. As stated earlier, all the coins of Śivabodhi have a plain reverse. But for Vasubodhi we have both single-die and double-die specie. It is amply clear that the change form single die to double-die coins was effected during Vasubodhi's reign. Thus it may be concluded that Vasubodhi came to power after Śivabodhi. It is needless to state that Vasubodhi also started with single-die issues and changed over to double–die coins at a later date during this reign.

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1. *JNSI*, XXXVII, pp. 31-38; *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp. 159-66.
2. *Supra*, pp. 62ff.
3. *JNSI*, XXXVII, pp. 37-38; *Indian Numismatic Sudies* p. 166.

We learn from a clay sealing of Chandrabodhi from Tripurī excavations that he also bore the matronymic Vāsishṭhīputra.[1] If any significance were to be attached to the commonness of the matronymic, Chandrabodhi will also have to bo regarded as yet another brother of Śivabodhi and Vasubodhi. In that case his priority to Śivabodhi will have to remain based upon considerations of fabric like weight and size.

In the light of these evidences the order of succession of the Bodhi kings appears to have been as follows:—

1. Śrībodhi or Bodhi,
2. Chandrabodhi,
3. Śivabodhi,
4. Vasubodhi,
5. Vīrabodhi or Vīrabodhidatta.

Yet another Bodhi chief, Dharmabodhi, has recently come to be known from a clay sealing found in the excavations at Tripurī.[2] However, his exact position in the dynasty cannot be determined until some more evidence in the form of inscriptions and coins is found.

As regards the two new chiefs, Śrīvāsaka and Śrīśiva, who have been brought to light by the recently published coins from Tripurī,[3] nothing definite can be said. Typological considerations and provenance seem to point to their connection with the Bodhis. But whether they really belonged to the Bodhi dynasty cannot be ascertained in the present state of insufficient information. It is not impossible that they might have belonged to some other family that may have been ruling over a region not far removed from Tripurī at the same time as the Bodhis were ruling at Tripurī. Alternatively it may be surmised that they succeeded the Bodhis in the Tripurī region. But these are merely conjectures and a finality in this matter must await future discoveries.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 164, no. 3; *JNSI*, XXXVII, p. 36, no. 3. The clay sealings from Tripurī excavations show that practically all the Bodhi chiefs bore matronymics. But excapt in the case of Chandrabodhi, Śivabodhi and Vasubodhi the first part of the matronymics has not been preserved.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37, no. 5; *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 165, no, 5.

3. *Supra*, p. 69.

V

ROMAN AUREUS FROM MEMADKHEDI

(Pl. V)

In the last issue of the *Journal*[1] , B. L. Nagarch has puplished a Roman *aureus*, found sometime in 1973 in the village Memadakhedi, tahsil Ashta, district Sehore (Madhya Pradesh). While Nagarch deserves our commendation for bringing this coin to light, it is regrettable that his note about the coin lacks proper information. It seems that he has no access to the latest publications on the Indian finds of Roman coins. Therefore, this is to supplement his note, so that the importance of the coin could be properly assessed.

1. This *aureus* is the issue of Septimius Severus (193-211 A. D.). Nagarch has failed to recognise the issuer. The coins of this ruler found in India, known so far, are :

(i) An *aureus* was found in the Yalleswaram (Nalgonda) excavations.[2]

(ii) An *aureus* was found as early as 1890 A. D. at Waghoda, Taluka Raver, district East Khandesh.[3]

(iii) In 1840 a hoard of 18 *aurei* was found at Dharphul, district Sholapur.[4] In this hoard coins of this king were present, but their number is not known.

These earlier finds indicate that the coins of Septimius Severus were so far confined to Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Now, for the first time his coin is found further north in Madhya Pradesh. This gives importance to this find.

2. The legends on the coin are not properly read by Nagarch, They are as follows:

Obverse. *L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. III.*

Reverse. *DIVI. M. PII. F.P.M. TR. P. III. COS. II. PP.*

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1. *JNSI*, XXXVII, p. 158.

2. *A Monograph on Yaleswaram Excavations*, pp. 13, 55.

3. *JBBRAS*, XVIII (1890-94), p. 38.

4. *NC*, V (1st Ser.), 1843, p. 202; *Mad., Jour. Lit. Sc.*, XIII, 1844, p. 215.

The importance of dots in between the words is not realised by Nagarch and they are not properly recorded by him.

3. The reverse figure is Flying Victory, holding diadem.

4. 7 grammes (108 grains) as the weight of the coin is too low for this coin, which appears to be perfect in condition in the photograph. The weight of the *aureus*, by the time of Nero, had come down to 7.39 grammes (114.10 grains) and for nearly a century and a half no further change in its weight is known. The weight of the coin, therefore, needs fresh verification.

5. The photograph of the coin, published on Plate XV is almost twice the original size of the coin, but this fact is nowhere recorded in the note. This gives the impression that the coin was not of gold and related to the series of base metal.

6. A datailed study of the Roman coins found in India was published by me as early as 1965 under the title *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh*. It records almost all the finds that were known till then. This study reveals that the post-Antoninus (i.e. from the latter half of the second century A. D.) Roman coins are rare in India. Possibly by this time Rome had attained the position of exporting commodities, consumable in India, in exchange of the Indian goods and it was now sending not many coins, as was the case in the earlier period. As such, no such conclusion can be arrived that would suggest the stray nature of the coin.

P. L. Gupta

7175 B

VI

THE LEGEND MLKY TKR ON TWO COINS OF ANCIENT SOGDIANA

(Pl. IV)

The regions, which once lay within or near ancient Sogdiana, have yielded imitations of the coins of such early Greek rulers as Euthydemus I, Heliokles and Eucratides.[1] On a group of these coins the legend *MLK' Twhr* can be read. The term *Twhr* has been equated with the name of the Tochari or Tokharians[2].

In this connection we may draw attention of scholars to two interesting coins, one of which is in the British Museum, London, and the other was noticed in *Revue Numismatique*, 1910.[3]

These two round silver coins seem to have been struck on a standard lighter than that of Attic tetradrachms. **(Pl. IV. 5–6)**

A youthful head to right appears on the obverse of these coins. A diademed fillet is set diagonally across the head. The fillet-ends consist of broad bands flowing in two directions after having been tied in a knot at the back of the head. On the B. M. piece, however, the fillet-end is indicated in outline.

The reverse of both the coins displays a naked and bearded male figure (representing Herakles) sitting to left on a rock, over which a lion-skin is spread out. The muscles of the chest, abdomen and thigh are prominently delineated. The right hand of the figure holds a knotted club, resting on his right thigh. An Aramaic or rather early Sogdian legend can be noticed in front of the sitting figure and on the right (proper left) side of the reverse. If the legend is read from outside and, as in case of other Sogdian legends, from right to left, it can be deciphered as (*Ml*) *K'y Tkr* on the coin published in *Revue Numismatique* (**PL. IV. 5**) and as......*T* (?) *kr* on the B. M. peace (**Pl. IV. 6**).

The obverse and reverse types of these coins are obviously based on the obverse and reverse devices of a class of coins struck

1. *Revue Numismatique*, 1910, pp. 296f.
2. K. Hoffmann *et al.*, *Handbuch Der Orientalistik*, IV, *Irnistik*, Pt. I, p. 26. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*. Calcutta, 1967; pp. 24f.
3. *Revue Numismatique*, 1910, pl. II, no. 2B.

by the Indo-Greek king Euthydemus I. The legend *Mlk'y Tkr*, meaning "*King T (o) K (a) r*" indicates that the coins in question were minted by a king of the Tokar or Tokharian people.

We have already noted that the coin-types of Euthydemus I were imitated in Sogdiana and that the legend *MLK' Twhr* can be read on several of these coins. This legend is, however, somewhat different from that appearing on our coins. Hence the pieces in question form a new variety of Tokharian coins.

The name *T* (*o*) *K* (*a*) *r* on our coins seems to add weight to the evidence of the Tokharian occupation of ancient Sogdiana. Strabo mentions the Tocharians as one of the tribes who were responsible for the downfall of Greek rule in Bactriana and who came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes river that adjoins that of the Sakai and the Sogdianoi and was occupied by the Sakai.[1] On their way to Bactria they must have traversed Sogdiana. The nomadic occupation of Bactria and Sogdiana, also indicated by Justin[2], took place in the second or third quarter of the 2nd century B. C.[3]

Amitabha Bhattacharya

1. *Strabo*, XI, 8.2.
2. *Justin*, XXXVIII, 10.
3. B. N. Mukherjee, "Ta-hsia and the Problem of Nomadic Occupation of Greek Bactria", *Central Asia* (edited by A. Guha, Delhi, 1970), pp. 123 and 126.

REVIEWS

I

A Tribal History of Ancient India: A Numismatic Approach. By Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta. published by Nababharat publishers, 72 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta 9; 1974. pages XXX and 336; Pls. XII ; Map 1. Price Rs. 100.00, $ 20.00, £ 8.00.

The history of north India from the second century B. C. to the fourth century A.D., generally described as the dark period, is dominated by a number of non-monarchical tribes. But eralier histories did not give these tribes their proper place. Now scholars pay more attention to the subject. The Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University organised a seminar on the subject in 1973. Recent studies on tribal coins include the works of Dr. M. K. Sharan and Dr. Mrs. Bela Lahiri. The present work is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the subject.

The author discusses in detail 14 tribes, each one in a separate chapter. Words of doubtful tribal significance have been put in Appendix I. Numismatic evidence as our main source for the history of these tribes has received a full and comprehensive treatment. The author gives an account of the discovery of the coins form time to time and describes them under convenient classes and varieties discussing fully the controversies about their ascription, chronology, coin-legends, devices, symbols and metrology. A consolidated list of the tribal coins is made available in Appendix IV. Two other aspects of the tribal coinage, art in them and their minting technique, are discussed separately in Appendices II and III.

Though his emphasis is on coins, the author purposely avoids confining his present study to the narrow limits of numismatics, but brings it under the wider nomenclature of history. It is for this reason that he freely draws upon all possible sources bearing on the history of the non-monarchical tribes under study. As compared with other publications on the subject, we find in this present study a fuller use of the literary data. Thus the author has been able to bring out the total personality of the tribes, giving due attention

to such aspects as name, antiquity and habitat of the tribes, their political, religious and economic conditions, and their ethnology and social status. If, in the case of a few tribes he has not discussed some of the items mentioned above, the fault is not his; he has to work within the limitation of the paucity of relevant data.

The author has spared no pains to make his study up-to-date. But the numismatic evidence is in a constant process of expansion and change. Thus, for example every number of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* may have some information or opinion which may deserve a reference in the present work. Likewise one may not agree with some minor details in the description of a few coins as given by the author. But in the present state of studies his treatment appears to be the most reliable and reasonable one.

The book is by far the most systematic and comprehensive study of the subject. Collection and systematisation of existing data is not the only merit of the book. The author has not only reproduced some new coins but has also made significant improvement in the interpretation of several obscure pieces of evidence. He has himself underlined his main contributions in the Preface (p. vii) as also in the Introduction (pp. xxvii-xxix). Special notice is to be taken of his interpretation of the significance of the figure of Viśvāmitra on the coins of the Audumbaras, the curious legends on the coins of the Mālvas, the word *Sudavapa* on the coins of Sūryamitra in the Uddehika series and the legend on the unique coin of the Vṛishṇis. His attempts at studying the art in tribal coinage are 'pioneering'.

In the absence of full details which may help in listing the tribes or grouping them, the author adopts the safe policy of arranging them alphabetically. He has, however, discussed questions of general importance about geographical distribution, cultural significance and political role of the tribes in his concluding remarks.

In discussing the applicability of the term 'tribe' to the communities represented by the coins, the author searches for its Indian equivalent (p. xxiv), but fails to consider the term *jana* which possibly has the best case.

The author has cared not to omit any detail. In this attempt he sometimes unnecessarily lengthens the argument or argues to

establish even the obvious. Thus on pages 145-46 he argues to establish that *Rājanya* is a synonym of *Kshatriya.* Incidentally it may be pointed out that in this context he refers to the statement in the Nasik *praśasti* that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi destroyed the conciet and pride of the Khatiyas and adds that here, the term "*Kshatriya* evidently denotes a tribe of the same name, not a caste-designation", but, the point, in the absence of supporting evidence, is not so obvious. The author goes on to conclude (p. 147) that the Rājanyas of the coins "have possibly been referred to as the Kshatriyas in the *Arthaśāstra* and the Nasik *Praśasti.*" But the fact that the terms *Kshatriya* and *rājanya* in referring to the second *varṇa* are synonyms is no argument for giving the name Kshatriya to a tribe with the name Rājanya.

The usefulness of the numismatic data has been increased by 12 neatly printed plates with a fairly detailed description covering 19 pages. There is also an index of the symbols appearing on the coins but they do not have a corresponding note naming or describing them.

In fine it must be said that the work is the best available study of the subject. Numismatists and historians alike will find it of lasting value.

Lallanji Gopal

II

India As Seen in the Kuttani-Mata of Damodaragnpta
by Ajay Mitra Shastri, published by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi etc. 1975; 278 pages and 21 plates.

The *Kuṭṭanī-mata* by Dāmodaragupta, datable to the late 8th or early 9th century A. D., is "a vivid exposition of trickeries of whoredom" by an experienced procuress (*Kuṭṭanī*) called Vikarālā to a young courtesan of Vārāṇasī named Mālatī. The poem, consisting of more than one thousand stanzas in the Āryā metre, was composed to make the public aware of the vices of the world of hetairai. The author claimed that a person, "who listens to the poem, by adhering to the correct purport of the poem, is never duped by parasites courtesans, rogues and procuresses' (stanza no. 1058 of M. Kaul's editions). Dāmodaragupta, who exposed the moral depravity of certain classes of Indian society of his age, naturally touched, even though incidentally, upon several administrative points and also upon social, economic, religious and cultural aspects of contemporary

Indian society. These pieces of information have been ably collected, collated and discussed by Dr. Shastri.

The Study made by Shastri is divided into seven chapters. Chapter I deals with Dāmodaragupta, his age and the title and historical value of his work. Chapter II puts forth the information on political theory and administration contained in the *Kuṭṭanī-mata*. Religious conditions, social life, education (learning and literature), economic conditions and fine arts, as known from this poetical composition ; are discussed in chapters III, IV, V, VI and VII respectively. These are followed by an Appendix (Geographical References), Select Bibliography, etc.

In course of assessing the information supplied by Dāmodaragupta's work on the points relating to above mentioned topics Shastri has taken into account, for the sake of comparison, identification or comprehension, data culled from several other contemporary or earlier Indian sources. This approach has enhanced the value of the study and has almost transformed it into a treatise on cultural history of the late 8th or early 9th century (North) India.

Some of the hypotheses of Shastri, however, may not be easily accepted by other scholars. For an example, we can refer to his suggestion that the army of the Turushkas mentioned by Dāmodaragupta was the same as the army of the Arabs. A Turkish Shāhiya dynasty ruled in the Kabul valley and Gandhāra for a long time until it was overthrown by Kallar in about the second half of the 9th century. Dāmodaragupta, who resided in Kāśmīra (and so not very far from Gandhāra) in the late 8th or early 9th century A. D., could well have referred to the army of this Turkish Family. Again, we cannot be sure whether the romantic details of the episode of the marriage of king Jayāpīḍa of Kāśmīra with Kamalā of Puṇḍravardhana, as described in the *Rājataranginī* (VI, 423f), belong to the domain of "real history" (p. 28) as claimed by Shastri.

The author takes the term *dranga*, which appears in the *Kuttanī-mata*, to denote "township" (p. 55). This may well have been true. But we like to point out that the word *dranga* may be compared with Avestan *drang* meaning "to make, firm", "strong", "strengthened", etc. (C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Worterbuch*, col. 772). This sense is reflected in some Kharoshṭhī documents of the Shanshan kingdom of the 3rd-4th century A. D. where the term concerned

is used to mean "a frontier watch station" (obviously a strong and fortified place) and also perhaps a (fortified ? "office" (T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, p. 98 ; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, VII, p. 510). Perhaps the fortified frontier watch stations worked as offices for collecting customs revenue. In almost the same sense the word concerned was used in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 291). Hence we shall have to consider whether the term *draṅga*, used in the *Kuṭṭanī-mata*, means any "township" or rather "a fortified town including a watch station and/or a custom depot".

Dāmodaragupta refers to the making of dolls or sculptures (p. 230 ; stanzas, 123, 235, etc. of M. Kaul's edition). This topic could have been profitably discussed by, taking into account the actual specimens of sculpture of the period still available to scholars.

These observations, however, do not in any way minimise the value of the study made by Shastri. His discussions carry wealth of information. His ideas bear stamp of originality. His work indicates his profound scholarship. The book under review forms a distinct contribution to our knowledge of early Indian history.

It is not known whether Dāmodaragupta was able to make his readers aware of the evils of prostitution, which was as old as civilisation. It is, however, certain that the analytical study of the information supplied by him, as done by Shastri, will make scholars aware of the importance of a poetical composition like that of Dāmodaragupta for reconstructing the history of India.

B. N. Mukherjee

OBITUARY

C. R. Singhal

With profound sorrow and deep regret, we announce the sad demise of Shri C. R. Singhal at Chandigarh on 4th November 1976, only a few days before the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, which, it was expected that he would attend at Ludhiana. His death will be deeply mourned by all those engaged in the furtherance of numismatic knowledge not only in India but throughout the world. It is, however, a great satisfaction that he died full of years and honours.

He was born on the 5th January 1898 in a small village of the Punjab in a middle class family of the Agrawala Vaisya community. He did his matriculation in 1918 from the Punjab University. In 1922, he went to Bombay, where the next year in 1923, he joined the Prince of Wales Museum as Gallery Assistant; and held this post till he retired in 1955. In 1960, he was invited by the Government of Uttar Pradesh to join the State Museum, Lucknow as Numismatic Officer. There he stayed till 1967. Thereafter he went to Chandigarh to spend his last days with his son and his family.

Working with the Prince of Wales Museum, he took keen interest in the Medieval Indian (Muslim) numismatics and in due course of time, he came to be known as one of the leading authorities in this field. He was closely associated with the Numismatic Society of India since 1928, when he joined it as an ordinary member. He took up the charge of the Assistant Secretary and Treasurer of the Society in 1939 and held that post till 1955. He nourished the Society all through these years, which were its formative period. The Society awarded him Nelson Wright Medal in 1935 and Chakravikrama Medal in 1953 in recognition of his meritorious numismatic works. He was called upon to preside over the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India at Delhi in 1957. The Society conferred upon him its Honorary Fellowship in 1970.

Apart from publishing 46 research papers on numismatics, a list of which is appended at the end, Shri Singhal prepared a *Catalogue of the Coins of the Sultans of Gujarat in the Prince of Wales*

Museum in 1935. Then he compiled a *Bibliography of Indian Coins* in two parts. These volumes contained the abstracts of the articles published on Indian numismatics and was aclaimed a work of great value amongst the numismatists. The first part, relating to the Ancient period, covered material up to 1948 and the second part, relating to the medieval and modern periods, enlisted material upto 1952. He also published a supplementary volume of part two in collaboration with the writer of these lines; it covers the abstracts of the articles published between 1952 and 1960. He also compiled a Monograph entitled *Mint-towns of the Mughal Emperors* in 1953 and a Supplementary *Catalogue of the Mughal Coins in the State Museum, Lucknow* in 1965. During 1957, he prepared a comprehensive list of the Muslim Coins in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (the Museum of Art and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University). The same year, at the instance of the Archaeological Survey of India, he examined the coins of the State treasuries at Gwalior and Jaipur.

In his younger days, Shri Singhal was also interested in folklores; he had then edited a version of the Punjabi ballad *Hīra-Rānjhā* ; it was published in the *Indian Antiquary*.

P. L. Gupta

LIST OF C. R. SINGHAL'S NUMISMATIC CONTRIBUTIONS

A. The Gupta Emperors

1. A Hoard of Gupta Gold Coins found in Gujarat (*J. N. S I.*, XV, p. 195).

B. Early Muslim Rulers

2. Rare and Unique Gold Coins of the Early Muslim Rulers (*J.N.S.I.*, XVI, p. 193).
3. A New Coin of Mahmud son of Muhammad Bin Sām (*J.N.S.I.*, V, p 165).

C. Sultans of Delhi

4. A Unique Quarter Rupee of Sher Shah Suri (*J. N. S. I.*, I, p. 14).
5. A Rare Fractional piece of Sher Shah Suri (*J. N. S. I.*, II, p. 135).
6. A Hoard of 3877 Billon Coins of Sultans of Delhi (*J. N. S. I.*, IV, p. 63).
7. A Unique Gold Coin of Fath Khan, son of Firuz III Tughlaq (*J. N. S. I.*, XXV, p. 110).
8. An Unidentified Coin of Bull and Horseman type (*J. N. S. I.*, XXVI, p. 109).
9. The Coins of Asaladeva of Nalapur or Narwar (*J. N. S. I.*, XXVII, p. 194).

D. Sultans of Gujarat

10. New Types of Copper Coins of the Sultans of Gujarat (*I. A.*, LVII, p. 215).
11. Coins of Nasir Shah of Gujarat (*N. S.*, XLII, p. 40).
12. Some New Mint Towns of the Sultans of Gujarat (*N. S.*, XLV, p. 95).
13. A New Muhr of Mahmud Shah Begda of Gujarat (*J. N. S. I.*, I, p. 40).
14. A New Coin of Muhammad Shah II of Gujarat (*J. N. S. I.*, I, p. 109).
15. A Unique Silver Coin of Sikandar Shah of Gujarat (*J. N. S. I.*, IV, p. 151).

16. A Unique Silver coin of Mahmud Shah II of Gujarat (*J.N.S.I.*, VI, p. 48).
17. A Hoard of Gold Coins of Sultans of Gujarat (*J. N. S. I.*, XV, p. 223).

E. The Sultans of Malwa

18. On Certain Unpublished Coins of the Sultans of Malwa (*N. S.*, XLVII, p. 119).
19. A Gold Coin of Mahmud Shah Khalji of Malwa (*J. N. S. I.*, I, p. 38).
20. A Copper Coin of Qadir Shah of Malwa (*J. N. S. I.*, VI, p. 50).

F. Faruqi Kings of Khandesh

21. Coins of Nāsir Shāh Faruqi of Khandesh (*J.N.S.I.*, VI, p. 46).
22. The Doubtfully assigned Coins of Nāsir Shāh (*J. N. S. I.*, II, p. 135).
23. A Copper Coin of Bahadur Shah Faruqi of Khandesh (*J.N.S.I.* XII, p. 154).

G. The Bahmanis

24. A Unique Muhar of Nizam Shah Bahmani (*J. N. S. I.*, I, p. 39).
25. A Rare Bahmani Rupee (*J. N. S. I.*, II, p. 131).

H. Sultans of Ma'bar

26. A Unique Gold Coin of Nasiruddin Mahmud Sultan of Ma'bar (*J. N. S. I.*, X, p. 134).

I. Mughal Emperors

27. Some More Coins of the Post-Mughal period from Ahmadabad (*N. S.*, XLI, p. 9).
28. A Unique one-eighth rupee of Jahangir (*J. N. S. I.*, VII, p. 60).
29. Some New Coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (*J. N. S. I.*, XII, p. 57).
30. The Mint Name Hapur (*J. N. S. I.*, XII, p. 151).
31. Two Unique Mughal coins (*J.N.S.I.*, XIV, p. 111).
32. An Unknown mint of Aurangzeb—Islamnagar (*J N. S. I.*, XV, p. 108).
33. The Coins of Nurjahan (*J. N. S. I.*, XXI, p. 198).
34. On a so-called Unique copper Coin (*J. N. S. I.*, XIX, p. 57).
35. The Coins of Empress Nurjahan (*J. N. S. I.*, XX, p. 42).

36. Mulher, A New Mint of Aurangzeb (*J. N. S. I.*, XV, p. 226).
37. Notable Mughal coins in the Bhārat Kalā Bhrvan, Varanasi, (*J. N. S. I.*, XXIII, p. 387).
38. An Important Rupee of Humayun Bādshāh (*J. N. S. I.*, XXIV, p. 144).
39. Hindu Influence on the Coins of Aurangzeb (*J. N. S. I.*, XXV, p. 57).
40. Some Notable Mughal Coins in the State Museum of Lucknow (*J N. S. I.*, XXV, p. 179).
41. Some Notable Mughal Coins (*J. N. S I.*, XXVI, p. 57).
42. Remarkaple Mughal Gold Coins in the State Museum, Lucknow (*J. N. S. I.*, XXVI, p. 171).
43. A Unique Gold Coin of Akbar (*J. N. S. I.*, XXVI, p. 246).
44. Akbari Tankas of Udaipur Mint (*J. N. S. I.*, XXVIII, p. 76).

J. Native States

45. On Some Copper Coins of Ellichpur Mint (*J. N. S. I.*, XIII, p. 83).
46. A Unique Gold Coin of the Nawab of Cuddapah (*J. N. S. I.*, XIV, p. 113),

K. General

47. The Phadiyā Coins of Gujarat (*J. N. S. I.*, XXI, p. 192).

P. L. Gupta

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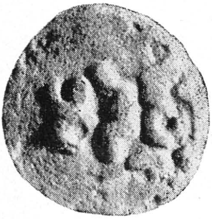

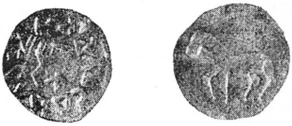

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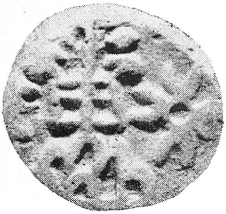

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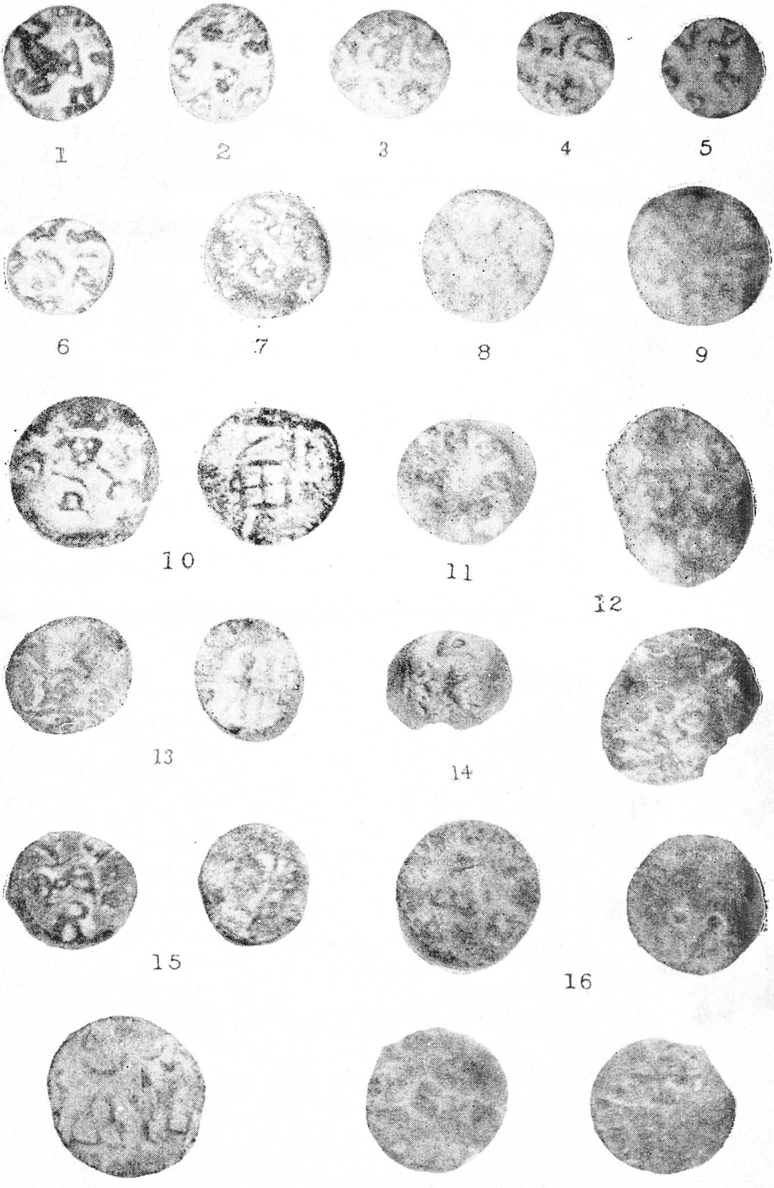
1-2 Coins in the Singhi Collection; 3 A & B. A unique Satrapal Coin.



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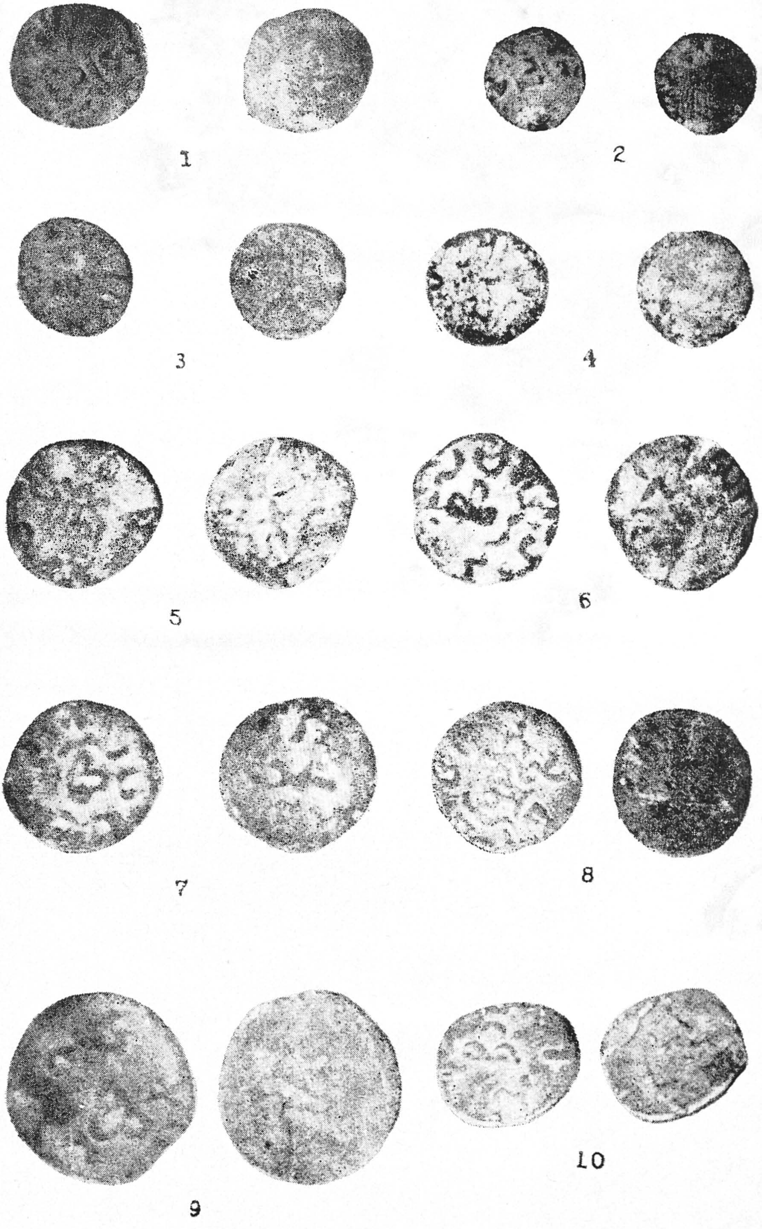

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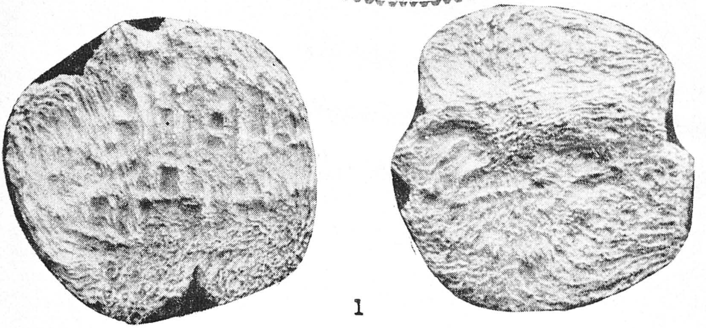

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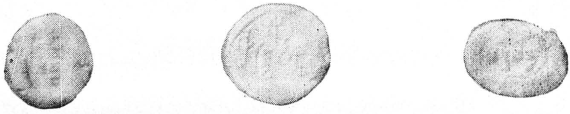

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6

1 Copper Coin of Krishnaraja; 2-4 Some Clay Sealinga from Sunet; 5-6 Sogdian Coins bearing Mlky Tkr.

1

2

Romano-Kushana Medallion

New Commemorative Coins of Agathocles.

THE

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